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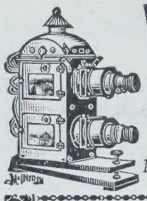

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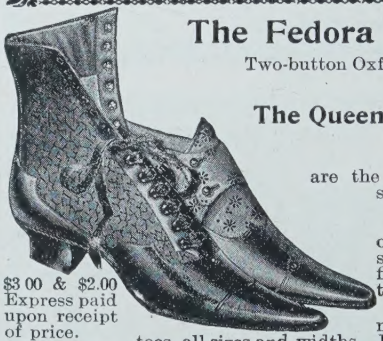

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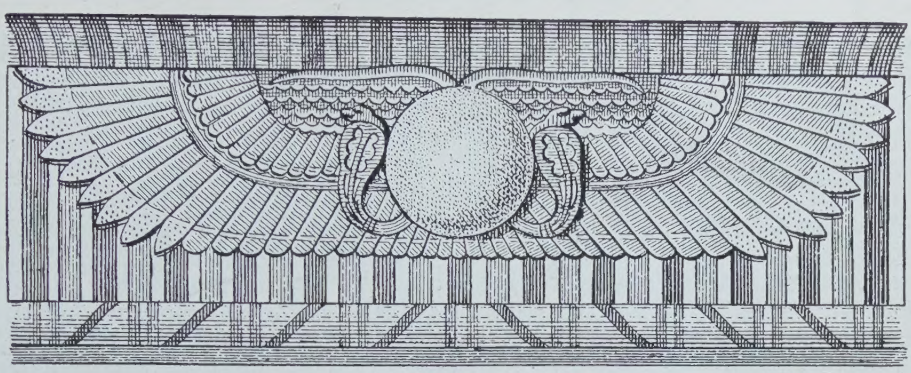


Winged Sun, with Serpents, being the symbol of the god Ra.

EGYPTIAN RELIGION.

BY

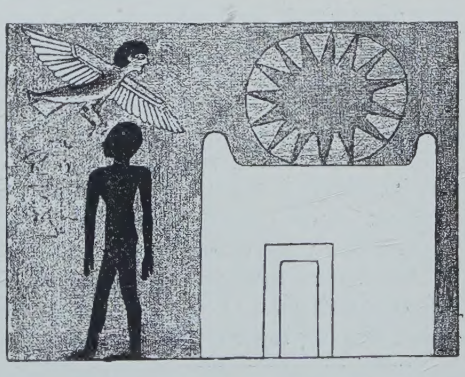
W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE, D.C.L., LL.D., Professor of Egyptology, University College, London, England.

1. NATURE AND DESTINY OF THE SOUL.

IN the basis of all religion, the nature of the soul, the Egyptians showed the same aptitude for holding several different views that we notice also in their theology. The presence of entirely contradictory notions side by side, points to their having been devised by different tribes or races; each of these divergent views has probably descended from some different element of the population.

The most complete account recognized many different parts of the personality. There was: *a*, The body, which became a mummy, *sahu*; *b*, the double or ghost, the *ka*, which was exactly like the body, was born with it, but was immortal and wandered about at will after the death of the body; (1) *c*, the *ka* carries with it the *khaib* or shadow symbolized by a sunshade. These are the elements of the material person. The immaterial parts are: *d*, The *ba*, or soul symbolized as a human-headed bird, which flies in and out of the tomb, and visits the mummy; (2) the king's *ba* was a hawk; *e*, the *khu*, or glory, symbolized by a crested bird; *f*, the *ab*, or will, symbolized by the heart; *g*, the *sekhem*, or strength; *h*, the *ran*, or name.

Ka Statues of Ra-hotep and his Sister-Wife, Nofret.



The Khaib and the Ba.

The simplest, and apparently earliest, notion of the soul after death was that it hovered about the tomb and required food and drink, (3) an idea which is usual

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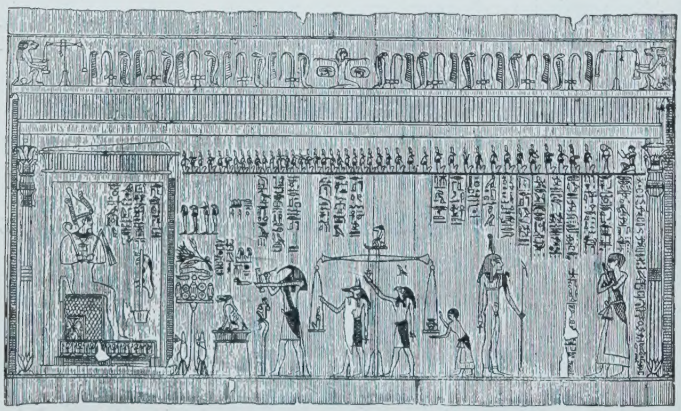
among many other races; hence the offerings of food which are found placed in the tombs of all periods. Later, however, these offerings were changed from being corruptible food into the incorruptible images of the food, and of the servants who prepared it; and these again were changed into mere surface sculptures, and lastly into paintings of the objects. (4) All of these changes took place before 4000 B.C., and throughout the historical period all of these modes of offering existed side by side. Failing the provision by human care, the soul was reduced to rely on the tree-goddess, who lived in the thick shady sycamore trees that overshadowed the cemeteries. The starving *ka*, or ghost, and the *ba*, or soul, came to adore the goddess, who from her mysterious haunt poured out the drink and gave them the bread. The *ba*, or soul, easily wandered about, and was provided (in some cases) with a narrow opening which led from the outer air down the shaft in the rock into the funeral chamber. Thus it could rest with the body or fly out to receive its nourishment.



The Judgment before Osiris. (*Cf.* Lesson 4, note 4.)

Another notion, which is entirely inconsistent with the above, is that the dead, after attesting his righteousness to Osiris, (5) was permitted to enter the fields of Aalu in the kingdom of Osiris, and there to cultivate the ground, to plough, to sow, and to reap the gigantic and glorified maize which rewarded his Elysian labors. The natural result of believing that the dead had to work after death was that their labors should be lightened as in life by having many servants to do their bidding. Probably servants were actually sacrificed at first, and at about 2500 and 1500 B.C. we find representations of human sacrifice which was probably then in image and not in reality. But from about 1600 B.C. down to about 400 B.C. images of the servants were buried in the tombs; at first only a few large and important figures, but afterwards many hundreds, degraded to mere lumps of mud about 700 B.C., but starting again with fine statuettes at about 600 B.C. These are known as *ushabtis*, or "answerers," as they had to answer for the dead when his name was called out from the roll of the *corvée* to work in Aalu.

The third notion was that the dead joined the sun, and went through all the hours of day and night with Ra, the sun-god. Here it had to face hosts of evil spirits during the progress through the twelve hours of night; and much of the "Book of the Dead," and of other manuals for the future state, is occupied with giving the pass-words and charms which will overcome this legion of terrors. (6)

On the whole, the Osiride view was the pleasanter, where the fields of Aalu gave all the delights of earth in a glorified form; and this certainly had a stronger and more lasting hold on the people than the other views.

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1. NATURE AND DESTINY OF THE SOUL.

(1) **Migration of the Ka.**—In the tomb was Naneferkaptah, and with him was the *ka* of his wife Ahura; for though she was buried at Koptos her *ka* dwelt at Memphis with her husband whom she loved. — "*Egyptian Tales*," *II., p. 88.*

(2) **Life of the Ba.**—It was imagined as being in the form of a bird, usually with human head and hands. At death it flew to the gods; but it was no more immaterial than the *ka*, and equally dependent upon renewed supplies of food and drink. In Egyptian art the *ba* is sometimes shown perched on the coffin, tenderly caressing it, and taking farewell of the mummy within.—

Festive scene depicted in a Theban tomb-chapel for the delectation of the deceased, believed able, by means of magic to share in it.

Wiedemann, "*Religion of the Ancient Egyptians*," *p. 242*.

(3) **Sustenance of the Dead.**—Funeral sacrifices and the regular cultus of the dead originated in the need experienced for making provision for the sustenance of the manes after having secured their lasting existence by the mummification of their bodies. Gazelles and oxen were brought and sacrificed at the door of the tomb chapel; the haunches, heart and breast of each victim being presented and heaped together upon the ground, that there the dead might find them when they began to be hungry. Vessels of beer or wine, great jars of fresh water, purified with natron, or perfumed, were brought to them, that they might drink their fill at pleasure, and by such voluntary tribute men bought their good will, as in daily life they bought that of some neighbor too powerful to be opposed.—*Maspero*, "*Dawn of Civilization*," *p. 115*.

(4) **Funeral Offerings and Representations.**—As the living were not in direct communication with the dead, and could not pass the offerings from hand to hand, they took a god for intermediary and dedicated the sacrifice to him, on condition that he should give part to the dead of all the good things presented to him, on which he lived. The *ka*, or double of the bread, drink and meat, passed thus to the other world, and fed the *ka* of the dead. There was not even a need of the offerings to be solid in order to be effective; the passer-by, repeating in honor of the dead the formula of offering, thus easily procured for the *ka* the possession of all the things of which he repeated the list. . . . . The paintings or sculptures, which cover the surface of the tablet, serve as a translation of the inscriptions into images. . . . . In the New Empire (about 1500 B.C.) they sometimes added to the scenes of offerings the representation of the burial, the transport of the mummy, the lamentations of the women, and the arrival at the tomb.—*Maspero*, "*Guide au Musée de Boulaq*," *pp. 35-39*.

(5) **Judgment Before Osiris.**—Before Osiris sat the forty-two judges of the dead, each summoned from a different city in Egypt, each to pronounce sentence upon the dead with regard to some particular sin. . . . . The deceased was received by the goddess or goddesses of truth. He proceeded to speak in his own justification, declaring that he had not committed any one of the forty-two sins, and then the truth of his words was tested by weighing his heart in the scales against the symbol of truth. . . . . If the dead was found to be righteous, he received back his heart, the rest of the immortal parts of his soul were reunited in him, and he was again built up into the man who had walked the earth, but who now entered upon new and eternal life.—*Wiedemann*, "*Religion*," *pp. 248, 249*.

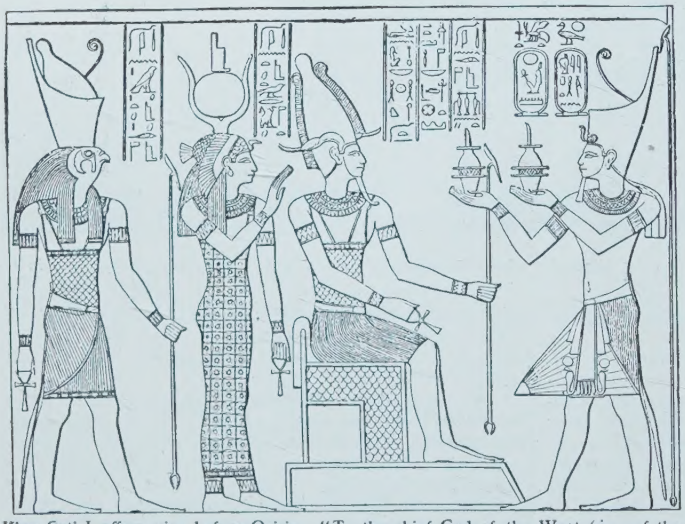
(6) **The Hours of Night.**—In these texts there were twelve divisions of Duat (the underworld), and the journey of the night sun through each of them lasted one hour. The divisions were designated fields, cities, or dwellings, and each was entered by a door. They were connected by a river running through their midst, upon which the sun-god in his bark journeyed from west to east, while upon its banks dwelt all manner of spirits and demons. . . . . The demons themselves are far from homogeneous; some were ancient gods, while others were later personifications endowed with forms adapted to the qualities which it was deemed necessary to ascribe to them. Some of the demons were represented as monkeys, because it was their function to worship the setting sun.—*Wiedemann*, "*Religion*," *pp. 34-51*.

2. DOMESTIC WORSHIP.

In most countries and ages the domestic or personal worship has differed from the public or state worship, and more generally represents an earlier stratum of belief. Even in countries most strongly imbued with an exclusive religion, like Christianity or Islam, the personal beliefs and motives of action are largely what are termed superstitions and have no root in the professed religion of the state.

It is, however, far more difficult to estimate the private than the public religion, owing to the natural absence of the temple sculptures, the rituals, and the public statements, which are the main sources of our information on state religion. We are reduced to noticing the smallest traces of beliefs and actions which may have left some tangible remains.

In the early tales we find that a belief in magic was deeply ingrained; images could be vitalized by magic powers so as to act on man or on animals. (1) And this belief revived into greater influence in the later age when the dogmatic and public theology had decayed, and when belief became concentrated on the old ideas of magic and the control of spirits, (2) which was so intimate a part of gnosticism. So far as purely personal religion can be traced, the belief in amulets and their magical effects was the most potent force. In the old kingdom (3500 B. C.) amulets of many kinds were worn; the sacred eyes of horses and the images of gods were the more theologic, and continued in use till late times; while the clinched hand, the jackal's head, and the hornet were simple charms which did not hold their place against later ideas. Such amulets were equally efficacious for the dead as for the living, and could control the malice of evil spirits in the future as in the present world. Hence nearly all our examples are those found in the mummies in tombs.



King Seti I. offers wine before Osiris. "To the chief God of the West (*i.e.*, of the Kingdom of the Dead), the Great God, the Lord of Abydos, Uennofre, the Lord of Eternity, the Ruler of Eternity." Behind Osiris stand "the Great Isis, the Divine Mother," and "Horus, the Son of Isis and of Osiris."

The more social beliefs of the household seem to have been largely devoted to the worship and benefit of the ancestors, as in China at present. In the central hall of the house was a niche or recess, usually in the western wall. This recess was two or three feet wide, and with sometimes a narrower recess in the middle of it. A raised step stood before it, or sometimes a platform with two or three steps leading to it. The recess was usually painted red, but in one case a painted scene remains in it, showing an ancestor come forth from his tomb as a *ka* of human form, and a *ba* or human-headed bird. Both *ka* and *ba* are adoring the tree goddess, who gives them food and drink. Here we see that the earliest and simplest beliefs about the soul continued to be the basis of the domestic worship, although complex and gorgeous services were devoted to the temple gods at the same time. The evidence for this belongs only to the XVIII-XXII dynasties; so that we do not know how

late this domestic worship continued. We may infer from its simple type that it preceded this period from the earliest times downward. (3)

In later times of the Ptolemaic and Roman ages there is much evidence of the popular worship to be gathered from the crowd of cheap pottery images, which were made in thousands to hang upon pegs in the rooms of the common people. These images show that the great mass of the mythology and theology had no hold upon the people. Very few of the well-known gods appear at all in this popular pantheon. The main objects of worship were, before all, *Horus*, then *Isis* with *Horus*, and *Serapis*, which was the later form of *Osiris* as modified by the type of *Zeus*. The vase-formed (or "canopic") Osiris is equally frequent. Female figures are also common, and are of different types, but connected with the gestures of those who went to the orgies at Bubastis, and those who sought fertility by invoking the sacred Hapi bull at Memphis. These were probably charms against childlessness, so dreaded in the east.

The Horus Monogram.

This prevalent worship of Horus, and of Isis as his mother, led immediately into a union with Christianity, in which Christ became identified with *Horus*, and the *khi rho* monogram was formed first as a star with the lock of hair of the infant Horus attached to it; while Isis, in precisely the typical attitude nursing Horus, gave the type of the Virgin and child which has lasted down to our time. Similarly the extremely popular worship of Isis in Italy in the first two centuries (4) led on to the continuance of it under the name of Mary. Thus some of the oldest elements of Egyptian theology have survived down to the present time.

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2. DOMESTIC WORSHIP.

(1) **Magic Animals.**—Then said Uba-aner, "Bring me my casket of ebony and electrum," and they brought it; and he fashioned a crocodile, of wax, seven fingers long; and he enchanted it, and said, "When the page comes and bathes in my lake, seize on him." And he gave it to the steward, and said to him, "When the page shall go down into the lake to bathe, as he is daily wont to do, then throw in this crocodile behind him." And the steward went forth bearing the crocodile. . . . And when the even was now come, the page went forth to bathe as he was wont to do. And the steward cast in the wax crocodile after him into the water; and, behold! it became a great crocodile seven cubits in length, and it seized on the page. . . . And Uba-aner called unto the crocodile and said, "Bring forth the page." And the crocodile came forth from the lake with the page. . . . And Uba-aner stooped and took up the crocodile, and it became in his hand a crocodile of wax.—*"Egyptian Tales," I., pp. 11-15.* (Before 3000 B.C.)

(2) **Magic Spells.**—Come down left side of the sky, right side of the earth. A man rises as royal sovereign; he has taken the white crown of the white land. Be not deaf, O ye who walk athwart; shut your mouths, let all reptiles remain attached to the ground by the terror of thy valiance, O Amen!

Another chapter: Hail to thee, O ape of seven cubits, whose eye is of silver, whose lip is of fire, and burning are all his words. Calm the deep! Let the safeguard be poured forth.

Another chapter: To shut enclosures. I shut the enclosures through my mother Rannu (the serpent goddess), having two legs, and by Hu I stay in the land. Horus allows it to be pervaded. I confide in the efficacy of that excellent written book given today into my hand, which repels lions by fascination, disables men; which repels men by fascination, disables lions; which muzzles the mouths of lions, hyenas, wolves, the heads of all animals having long tails, living upon flesh, drinking blood; which muzzles the mouth of the tiger, muzzles the mouth of the leopard, muzzles the mouth of the zapulma, muzzles the mouth of the lioness, muzzles the mouth of Her who sees, muzzles the mouth of Sekhet the good (evil), muzzles the mouth of the great living woman, muzzles the mouth of all men who have bad faces, so as to paralyze the limbs, not to allow the action of their flesh and bones, to keep them in the shade, to cause darkness, nor to allow daylight for them, at every moment of night. Shatabuta, Artabuhia, Thou art the keeper, warlike, tremendous, the safeguard! — *Harris papyrus, about 1100 B.C. "Records of the Past," X., pp. 150-158.*

(3) **Country Worship.**—There were casual divinities in every nome whom the people did not love any the less because of their unofficial character; such as an exceptionally high palm tree in the midst of the desert, a rock of curious outline, a spring trickling drop by drop from the mountain to which hunters came to slake their thirst in the hottest hours of the day, or a great serpent believed to be immortal, which haunted a field, a grove of trees, a grotto, or a mountain ravine. The peasants of the district brought it bread, cakes, fruits, and thought that they could call down the blessing of heaven upon their fields by gorging the snake with offerings.—*Maspero "Dawn of Civilization," pp, 120-122.*

(4) **Italian Worship of Isis.**—The worship of Isis and Serepis gained its footing only after a long struggle, and no small amount of persecution. —*Lecky, "History of European Morals," 11th edit., I., p. 402.*

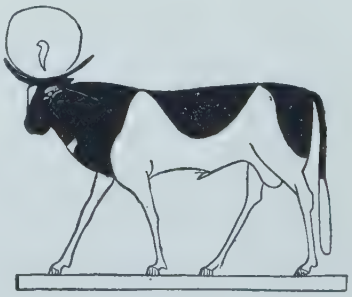
3. WORSHIP OF ANIMALS.

This worship, which served for the ridicule of Roman and Christian writers, was probably one of the earliest, and belonged to the most nearly primitive layer of Egyptian population. It was extended through every state of the country, and every local capital had its sacred animal.

The list of animals thus honored comprises the baboon, shrew-mouse, dog, wolf, jackal, ichneumon, cat, lion, hippopotamus, ram, bull, cow, vulture, hawk, egret, ibis, goose, crocodile, cobra, oxyrhynkhos fish, eel, lepidotas, latus, and maeotes; while the scarabaeus beetle was the commonest sacred emblem, though not worshiped anywhere. Of all these animals that were worshiped, it should be noted that it was always an individual animal that was honored and held sacred; while the whole species enjoyed only a vague sanctity, since any member of it might possibly become the divine representative. There was not the *tabu* and inviolability of the species to a special family or tribe, as in totemism; and no Egyptian hesitated to kill and feed on the sheep, ox, or goose, however much single individuals were honored and adored. (1)

The Scarab, supposed capable of propagation by itself, and hence an emblem of resurrection.

This worship of the individual animals did not ensure their length of life. On the contrary, they were the victims of a sacramental feast, as is the case in some other countries where the people periodically eat their god to strengthen their nature. At Thebes, the ram was yearly killed and eaten, and the statue of *Amen*—the god identified with the ram—was covered with the skin. The undisturbed burials of the sacred bulls of Hapi or Apis at Memphis show that they also were eaten in a solemn feast; the fragments of bone were then gathered together, made into a mass with pitch, adorned with costly jewelry, and then buried in the grandest state. This killing of the sacred bull is mentioned in a story of about 1200 B.C. Moreover, the cow that was brought up as a mate for the Apis bull was killed immediately after consorting with him. (2)



The Bull Apis.

The source of this worship of animals has been much debated. That they were not adored because of their utility is evident, as many are useless to man. That they were not merely employed as emblems of pre-existing gods is probable, since different gods are associated with the same animals; the animal worship appears to be a wider and earlier stratum than that of gods, and some were sacred apart from any god. Probably the idea of extra-human intelligence, perception, and powers attributed to them is to be looked on as really the origin of the worship devoted to them. The most celebrated examples of the worship of sacred animals are described by Greek and Roman authors. Four sacred bulls were adored: Hapi or Apis at Memphis, Mnevis at Heliopolis, Bakh or Bakis at Hermonthis, and Onuphis. These appear from some figures of them to have been different local breeds with marked characteristics. The most celebrated by far was the bull Hapi of Memphis; (3) the long series of tombs of these sacred bulls at Sakkara is one of the most impressive sights in Egypt; the earlier ones, about 1500 B.C., were separate chapels; but during the later centuries vast catacombs were excavated, in the chambers of which gigantic sarcophagi of granite still remain. Later, in Greek times, the deified Hapi (who became an *Osiris* in his apotheosis, and was hence the *Osir-apis*) was worshiped

as Serapis; (4) and this form of *Osiris* became the principal state-deity of the Ptolemaic and Roman government of Egypt. The noble temple of *Serapis* at Alexandria was one of the greatest and most magnificent then known, and became the rallying point of the expiring struggles of paganism. The last great festival of the Egyptian religion was that of a fresh Apis bull under Julian, 361 A.D., noted on his coinage as an event of his reign.

Another very prominent sacred animal was the jackal, the emblem of *Anubis*, the protector of the dead in their wanderings. The association of the jackal, which haunts the cemeteries along the edge of the desert, with a guardian of the dead, is but natural; and though specially worshiped at Siut, yet the jackal is represented in sculptures as a divine emblem throughout the whole country.

3. WORSHIP OF ANIMALS.

(1) **Nature of Animal Worship.**—In fixing upon certain animals as being respectively the incarnations of certain deities, the Egyptian was guided by what he considered the salient characteristics of the different divinities and of the different species of animal in question. To the gods of nature in its annual rejuvenescence were assigned animals supposed to be possessed of exceptional procreative vigor, such as the bull and ram; while animals, such as the cow, were dedicated to the fertile and food-producing deities; and serpents owed their deification to their stealthy movements, to their deadly power, and also to an occasional trustful familiarity by which all nations have been impressed. The association of the hawk with sun-gods was obviously suggested by the bird's soaring and hovering in high heaven; and the crocodile, lying inert upon the bank, but terrible and devouring when roused, was the embodiment of the dignity and self-conscious power which have always appealed to the reverence of Orientals.—*Wiedemann*, "*Religion*," *pp. 178-9.*

(2) **Renewal of Sacred Animals.**—The death of the sacred animal did not involve the death of the god whom it represented, nor the loss of its own personal identity. Though the dislodged deity at once sought fresh incarnation in another animal of the same species and appearance as that which had died, the soul of the latter was immortal. According to the doctrine which taught that the dead man became an Osiris, so did the dead Apis become an Osiris Apis, the dead ram of the temple an Osiris ram, etc. In all these cases the same rites were performed for the animal as for the human mummy: it was embalmed and provided with amulets for that world beyond death in which its soul would henceforth live forever. The increasing number of the Apis bulls, of the divine rams and crocodiles which he was thus relegating to the next world, suggested no embarassments to the Egyptian, although he believed the soul of each sacred animal to be of unconditioned divinity.—*Ibid, pp. 182-3.*

(3) **Tablet of Adoration to Apis.**—The devotee of Osorhapi, the companion of the general Aahmes, son of Pasabenhor and of the lady Taapenha, says: "When they had brought this god (the Apis) for his reunion with the good region of the west (the funeral region), after all the ceremonies in the sanctuary had been made to him, and he had been clothed with his covering, when they had brought this god to his western abode (the tomb) then I, thy slave, I have made the shrouding of thy person; I have watched each day; I have not slumbered to accomplish all thy ceremonies; I have established thy veneration in the hearts of all men of the country, as well as of every locality, as far as the limits of the district, by the things that I have done in thy sanctuary. I have despatched my orders to the South as to the North to convoke in thy sanctuary all the chiefs of Ponds with the loads of their contributions. O! prophets of the temple of Ptah (where the sacred bull was kept), this is what I say: Osorhapi! prostration before thee of him whose respirations are for the accomplishment of thy ceremonies, of the general Aahmes, who came himself to bring silver, gold, staffs, royal linen, perfumes, precious stones and all good things. **Make him a recompense** according to what he hath done for thee; prolong his years, perpetuate him eternally; establish for him the duration of the existence of Horus in the upper region, that his name may be remembered forever."—"*Records of the Past*," *IV., p. 63.*

The god Anubis.

(4) **Worship of Serapis.**—It was in this form that Osiris was generally recognized by the Greeks, who, having endowed him with attributes derived from Pluto and Asklepios, named this half Greek, half Egyptian deity Sarapis or Serapis. Under the Romans the worship of Serapis extended throughout the empire, having its devotees in every province.—*Wiedemann*, "*Religion*," *p. 191.*

4. THE OSIRIDE RELIGION.

The gods of the family of *Osiris* form a very marked group; they are all purely human and without animal or cosmogonic nature, except so far as combined in later times with other gods. In the early times, before 2000 B.C., they form about a quarter of the monumental religion; as the abstract gods declined in importance, the proportion rose to a half; and in the latest times they may be said to have constituted practically the sole worship of Egypt.

The earliest form of the myth is far different from the later, and has probably preserved for us the traces of some tribal revolution of prehistoric times. In the most remote age it appears that *Osiris*, *Isis*, *Horus*, and *Set* were all independent and unconnected deities, belonging probably to different tribes. *Isis* was a virgin goddess at Buto in the Delta. (1) *Horus* came to be worshiped with her, and was therefore called her son, though a separate form as "*Horus* the elder," apart from *Isis*, continued until late times. Then *Set* was worshiped along with *Horus* and *Isis*, and is treated as a coequal god with *Horus*. Lastly, *Osiris* came to be united with this family, *Isis* was considered his wife, *Horus* his son, and *Set*, with whom he was at enmity, ceased to be coequal with *Horus*, and became the evil brother of *Osiris*, with whom *Horus* waged ceaseless war. This warfare of the *Horus* tribe with the earlier members of the *Set* tribe forms the oldest chapter of the legendary history, the earlier stages of the religious changes being only dimly preserved, owing to intense conservatism.

At the earliest historic times we find, then, a compact family of gods: *Osiris*, who married his sister *Isis* (for thus all good brothers were bound to do in ancient Egypt), and also his sister *Nebhat*, or *Nephthys*, who is otherwise considered the wife of *Set*, the evil brother of *Osiris*. The sons of *Osiris* were *Horus*, from *Isis*, and *Anpu* or *Anubis*, from *Nebhat*. The latter is, however, perhaps only a later theologic connection, as *Anubis* is never figured with *Nephthys*, while *Isis* and *Horus* are constantly shown together.

The myth of *Osiris* as stated in Roman times ran thus: *Osiris* came into Egypt as a civilizer and benefactor, teaching agriculture, laws and worship, and abolishing cannibalism, and afterwards went over the world spreading like benefits. *Set*, jealous of him, trapped him in a coffin, which was thrown in the sea, and floated to Byblos in Syria. *Isis* wandered in search of it, and at last obtained it. *Set*, however, found the coffin, cut the body in fourteen pieces and scattered them widely. *Isis*, however, recovered nearly all, (2) and at each place of the pieces a shrine of *Osiris* was set up, known as a Serapeum in Roman times. *Horus* then fought against *Set* and conquered him, placing garrisons of followers by the side of each centre of the power of *Set* to restrain him. *Osiris* then became the god of the dead, whose kingdom lay in the mysterious and inaccessible marshes of the Delta; or later—when they became known—away in the vague coasts of Syria; and lastly, in the northeast quarter of the sky. (3)

As the god of the dead, *Osiris* was of the highest importance to the Egyptian. Every good Egyptian needed to enter his kingdom, and to become osirified, so as to be assured of immortal bliss. Hence all deceased persons were entitled "the *Osiris* so-and-so," much as we speak of "the blessed dead." The kingdom of *Osiris* was a shadowy but glorified copy of earthly life. All the pleasures and needful work of life went on there; and in the vignettes to the "Book of the Dead," which was the guide to the unseen world deposited in the tomb of every well-to-do Egyptian, the varied occupations are delightfully figured. To enter this paradise, however, the dead needed to be judged by *Osiris;* his heart was weighed against truth to see if it were just, and the dead asserted his innocence of a long list of what we should call "mortal sins." If he failed to be accepted, his soul was driven away in the form of a pig to an unknown doom. If his heart proved to be true when weighed, he then

passed into the fields of Aalu, where *Osiris* ruled, and all was peace and plenty. And even there he did not need to labor if his tomb had been properly provided with the *ushabtis* or slave figures, which we have noticed in the first lesson.

4. THE OSIRIDE RELIGION.

(1) **Primitive Form of Isis.**—The goddess whom we are accustomed to regard as inseparable from Osiris, Isis the cow, or woman with cow's horns, had not always belonged to him, Originally she was an independent deity, dwelling at Buto in the midst of the marshes of Adhu. She had neither husband nor lover, but had spontaneously conceived and given birth to a son, whom she suckled among the reeds—a little Horus who was called Har-si-isit, Horus the son of Isis, to distinguish him from Haroeris (Horus the elder). At an early period she was married to her neighbor Osiris, and no marriage could have been better suited to her nature. For she personified the earth . . . the black and luxuriant plain of the Delta, where races of men, plants, and animals increase and multiply in ever succeeding generations. To whom did she owe this inexhaustible productive energy if not to her neighbor Osiris, to the Nile? . . . The marriage of the two elements suggested that of the two divinities: Osiris wedded Isis and adopted the young Horus.—*Maspero*, "*Dawn of Civilization*," *pp. 131-2.*

(2) **Lamentations of Isis.** — Come to thine abode! come to thine abode! god An (Osiris), come to thine abode! Thine enemies exist no more. O excellent sovereign come to thine abode!

Look at me: I am thy sister who loveth thee. Do not stay far from me, O beautiful youth. Come to thine abode with haste, with haste.

I see thee no more; my heart is full of bitterness on account of thee. Mine eyes seek thee; I seek thee to behold thee. Will it be long ere I see thee? Will it be long ere I see thee? O excellent sovereign, will it be long ere I see thee? Beholding thee is happiness; beholding thee is happiness, O god An, beholding thee is happiness.

Isis and Horus, assisted by two hawks, restoring to life Osiris by means of spells and ceremonies. The side of the bier shows Thoth and some sacred animals. Above appears the inscription "Osiris-wennofer in the midst of the house of Sokar (mortuary god): may he grant satisfying life to Seti I."

Come to her who loveth thee; come to her who loveth thee, O Un-nefer (Osiris) the justified. Come to thy sister, come to thy wife; come to thy sister, come to thy wife; O Urt-het (Osiris), come to thy wife.

I am thy sister by thy mother; do not separate thyself from me. Gods and men turn their faces towards thee, weeping together for thee, whenever they behold me.

I call thee in my lamentations, even to the heights of Heaven, and thou hearest not my voice.

I am thy sister who loveth thee on earth; no one else hath loved thee more than I, thy sister, thy sister.—"*Records of the Past*," *II., pp. 119-20.*

(3) **The Myth of Osiris.**—There he was met by

the gods and goddesses of the court of Osiris: by Anubis, by Hâthor the lady of the cemetery, by Nît, by the two Mâîts who preside over justice and truth, and by the four children of Horus stiff-sheathed in their mummy wrappings! They formed as it were a guard of honor to introduce him and his winged guide into an immense hall, the ceiling of which rested on light graceful columns of painted wood. At the further end of the hall Osiris was seated in mysterious twilight within a shrine through whose open doors he might be seen wearing a red necklace over his close-fitting case of white bandaging, his green face surmounted by the tall, white diadem flanked by two plumes, his slender hands grasping flail and crook, the emblems of his power. Behind him stood Isis and Nephthys watching over him with uplifted hands, bare bosoms, and bodies straitly cased in linen. Forty-two jurors who had died and been restored to life like their lord, and who had been chosen, one from each of those cities of Egypt which recognized his authority, squatted right and left, and motionless, clothed in the wrappings of the dead, silently waited until they were addressed. The soul first advanced to the foot of the throne, carrying on its outstretched hands the image of its heart or of its eyes, agents and accomplices of its sins and virtues. It humbly "smelt the earth," then arose, and with uplifted hands recited its profession of faith: "Hail unto you, ye lords of Truth! hail to thee, great god, lord of Truth and Justice! I have come before thee, my master; I have been brought to see thy beauties. For I know thee, I know thy name, I know the names of thy forty-two gods who are with thee in the Hall of the Two Truths, living on the remains of sinners, gorging themselves with their blood, in that day when account is rendered before Onnophris, the true of voice. Thy name which is thine is 'the god whose two twins are the ladies of the two Truths'; and I, I know you, ye lords of the two Truths, I bring unto you Truth, I have destroyed sins for you. I have not committed iniquity against men! I have not oppressed the poor! I have not made defalcations in the necropolis! I have not laid labor upon any free man beyond that which he wrought for himself! I have not transgressed, I have not been weak, I have not defaulted, I have not committed that which is an abomination to the gods! I have not caused the slave to be ill-treated of his master! I have not starved any man; I have not made any to weep; I have not assassinated any man; I have not caused any man to be treacherously assassinated, and I have not committed treason against any! I have not in aught diminished the supplies of temples! I have not spoiled the shewbread of the gods! I have not taken away the loaves and the wrappings of the dead! I have done no carnal act within the sacred enclosure of the temple! I have not blasphemed! I have in nought curtailed the sacred revenues! I have not pulled down the scale of the balance! I have not falsified the beam of the balance! I have not taken away the milk from the mouths of sucklings! I have not lassoed cattle on their pastures! I have not taken with nets the birds of the gods! I have not fished in their ponds! I have not turned back the water in its season! I have not cut off a water-channel in its course! I have not put out the fire in its time! I have not defrauded the Nine Gods of the choice parts of victims! I have not ejected the oxen of the gods! I have not turned back the god at his coming forth! I am pure! I am pure! I am pure! I am pure! Pure as this Great Bonû of Heracleopolis is pure! . . . There is no crime against me in this land of the Double Truth! Since I know the names of the gods who are with thee in the Hall of the Double Truth, save thou me from them!" He then turned towards the jury and pleaded his cause before them. They had been severally appointed for the cognizance of particular sins, and the dead man took each of them by name to witness that he was innocent of the sin which that one recorded. His plea ended, he returned to the supreme judge, and repeated, under what is sometimes a highly mystic form, the ideas which he had already advanced in the first part of his address: "Hail unto you, ye gods who are in the Great Hall of the Double Truth, who have no falsehood in your bosoms, but who live on Truth in Aûnû, and feed your hearts upon it before the Lord God who dwelleth in his solar disc! Deliver me from the Typhon who feedeth on entrails, O chiefs! in this hour of supreme judgment; grant that the deceased may come unto you, he who hath not sinned, who hath neither lied, nor done evil, nor committed any crime, who hath not borne false witness, who hath done nought against himself, but who liveth on truth, who feedeth on truth. He had spread joy on all sides; men speak of that which he hath done, and the gods rejoice in it. He hath reconciled the god to him by his love; he hath given bread to the hungry, water to the thirsty, clothing to the naked; he hath given a boat to the shipwrecked; he hath offered sacrifices to the gods, sepulchral meals unto the manes. Deliver him from himself, speak not against him before the Lord of the Dead, for his mouth is pure, and his two hands are pure!" In the middle of the Hall, however, his acts were being weighed by the assessors. Like all objects of the gods, the balance is magic, and the genius which animates it sometimes shows its fine and delicate little human head on the top of the upright stand which forms its body. Everything about the balance recalls its superhuman origin; a cynocephalus, emblematic of Thot, sits perched on the upright and watches the beam; the cords which suspend the scales are made of alternate *cruces ansatæ* and *tats*. Truth squats upon one of the scales; Thot, ibis-headed, places the heart on the other, and always merciful, bears upon the side of Truth that judgment may be favorably inclined. He affirms that the heart is light of offence, inscribes the result of the proceeding upon a wooden tablet, and pronounces the verdict aloud: "Thus saith Thot, lord of divine discourse, scribe of the Great Ennead, to his father Osiris, lord of eternity, 'Behold the deceased in this Hall of the Double Truth, his heart hath been weighed in the balance in the presence of the great genii, the lords of Hades, and been found true. No trace of earthly impurity hath been found in his heart. Now that he leaveth the tribunal true of voice, his heart is restored to him, as well as his eyes and the material cover of his heart, to be put back in their places, each in its own time, his soul in heaven, his heart in the other world, as is the custom of the Followers of Horus. Henceforth let his body lie in the hands of Anubis; let him receive offerings at the cemetery in the presence of Onnophris; let him be as one of those favorites who follow thee; let his soul abide where it will in the necropolis of his city, he whose voice is true before the Great Ennead.'"—*G. Maspero*, "*Dawn of Civilization*," *pp. 187-191.*

5. THE COSMOGONIC RELIGION.

So great has been the influence of sun-worship in Egypt that to the later Egyptians it absorbed everything else, and almost all the other gods became identified with *Ra*, the sun-god. (1) In the early times before 2000 B.C., the solar and cosmogonic gods receive but two or three per cent. of all the mentions of divinities. In the XVIII.-XX. dynasty they receive over thirty per cent., while later than that they are less prominent, but only because almost every other god was subdued to *Ra* and formed but a manifestation of the sun.

This cosmogony has many elements similar to that of Mesopotamia, familiar to us in Genesis. The sky or celestial ocean, *Nut*, rests upon the earth, *Seb*, to begin with. Then a firmament lifts the waters above from the waters below, and the god *Shu* raises *Nut* and supports her on his arms. *Shu* is empty space or air, symbolized by the lightest bulk known—an ostrich feather. Another version was that *Ra*, the sun himself, lifted the upper waters from the lower; and this may be seen daily in the sun lifting the thick fog and cloud from off the Nile. The sky, *Nut*, was symbolized by a woman spotted over with stars, and resting with hands and feet on the ground—the four pillars of the sky—while *Shu*, or space, supports her body on his upraised arms. *Seb*, the earth, symbolized as a man, lies on the ground below. (2)

Air supporting Sky, while Earth reclines below.

The sun has several names, and was worshiped as different gods at different times of day. *Ra* was an entirely human god, and this name is maintained for the sun throughout the whole day and night. *Harakhti*, or *Horus* on the horizon, a compounding of *Ra* with *Horus*, is a hawk-headed god, who specially is the rising and morning sun. Another form, *Atmu* or *Tum*, is the afternoon sun; and *Khepra* is the night sun. (3) *Atmu* is the god who is theologically said to have created everything by the word of his power. Heliopolis, in the Delta, just below Cairo, was the special center of this worship; and the story of creation as told there was in three scenes: First, the separation of *Ra* and *Atmu*, *Ra* being the sun and *Atmu* the creator; second, the lifting of the sky (*Nut*) from the earth (*Seb*); third, the birth of the Nile and of cultivation. This corresponds to the first three days of Genesis; the separation of light from the Creator, the separation of the upper waters from the lower by space, and the production of sea and land and plants. (4). Specially connected with this *Ra* worship was the division of the day and night each into twelve hours. The separate hours of day are not specially important, but the hours of night form the basis of one of the most essential beliefs of Egypt. Each hour was a different territory through which the sun passed, accompanied by his bodyguard of gods, and the spirits of the faithful who accompanied him. (5) Several religious works were adapted to this idea, or founded on it. The Book of the Dead, the Book of the Shades (Duat), and the Book of Gates or of Hades belong to this form of spiritual guide-book. Such words were placed in the tomb, written on papyrus, or on the walls of some of the royal tombs, so that the dead could have them always at hand to warn them of their nightly dangers and to give the charms which could lead them safely past the many demons who would obstruct their progress in each of the hours. In the earlier writings of the Book of the Dead the hours are not so prominent, and *Osiris* is more important than *Ra* as a patron of the dead; but in all

the later writings *Ra* became more and more important, and the twelve hours are the basis of the whole system. The motion of the sun was seen to be smooth and regular, as that of a boat on water; and rain was known to descend from the sky. Hence the conclusion was not unnatural that there was a river above in the sky, and the sun floated in a boat on that river. The boat or bark of the sun is therefore constantly represented, and the gods who formed his bodyguard went with him in this boat. Whenever the sun as a moving body was to be shown, as in rising or setting, the disc is figured on a boat. (6)

5. THE COSMOGONIC RELIGION.

(1) **Union of Ra with Other Gods.**—Of the more important gods, Ptah was almost the only one to escape the common lot of fusion with the sun, and this simply because he was already practically merged in Osiris, god and ruler of the realm of the dead.—*Wiedemann*, "*Religion*," *p. 43*. "Hail Ra! the royal Osiris (Sety I) is thyself, and reciprocally. Hail Ra! thy spirit is that of Osiris, thy course is his in the empyrean."—*Litany of Ra, in "Records of the Past," VIII., p. 113.*

This course would gradually lead to the abolition of polytheism, and in fact this tendency is very apparent. Thus, *e.g.*, in the phraseology of the hymn to the sun-god, the divine amalgam, composed of Amon, Ra, Harmachis, Atmum, is called the "only god, in truth, the living one."—*A. Erman*, "*Life in Ancient Egypt*," *p. 261*.

(2) **Seb and Nut.**—In the beginning earth and sky were two lovers lost in the Nu (ocean of chaos), fast locked in each other's embrace, the god lying beneath the goddess. On the day of creation a new god, Shu, came forth from the primeval waters, slipped between the two, and, seizing Nut with both hands, lifted her above his head with outstretched arms. Though the starry body of the goddess extended in space—her head being to the west and her loins to the east—her feet and hands hung down to earth. These were the four pillars of the firmament under another form, and four gods of four adjacent principalities were in charge of them. . . . Nevertheless, Seb had not been satisfied to meet the irruption of Shu by mere passive resistance. He had tried to struggle, and he is drawn in the posture of a man who has just awakened out of sleep, and is half turning on his couch before getting up. One of his legs is stretched out, the other is bent and partly drawn up as in the act of rising. The lower part of the body is still unmoved, but he is raising himself with difficulty on his left elbow, while his head drops and his right arm is lifted towards the sky. His effort was suddenly arrested and rendered powerless by a stroke of the creator. Seb remained as if petrified in this position, the obvious irregularities of the earth's surface being due to the painful attitude in which he was stricken. His sides have since been clothed with verdure; generations of men and animals have succeeded each other upon his back, but without bringing any relief to his pain; he suffers evermore from the violent separation of which he was the victim when Nut was torn from him, and his complaint continues to rise to heaven night and day.—*Maspero*, "*Dawn of Civilization*," *pp. 128, 129*.

(3) **Different Phases of the Sun.**—Ra symbolized the sun of springtime and before sunrise; Harmakhuti the summer and the morning sun; Atmu the sun of autumn and of afternoon; Khepra that of winter and of night.—*Ibid, p. 139.*

(The order was, however, not invariable.) In a Turin papyrus it is said: "I am Khepra in the morning, Ra at noon, and Atmu in the evening." But this distinction was not thoroughly carried out, and occasionally Khepra may indicate the sun in general.—*Wiedemann*, "*Religion*," *p. 31*.

(4) **Action of Atmu.**—Atmu then, rather than Ra, was placed by the Heliopolitan priests at the head of their cosmogony as supreme creator and governor. Several versions were current as to how he had passed from inertia into action, from the personage of Atmu into that of Ra. According to the version most widely received he had suddenly cried across the waters, "Come unto me!" and immediately the mysterious lotus had unfolded its petals, and Ra had appeared at the edge of its open cup as a disk, a new born child, or a disk-crowned sparrow-hawk; this was probably a refined form of a ruder and earlier tradition, according to which it was upon Ra himself that the office had devolved of separating Seb from Nut, for the purpose of constructing the heavens and the earth. But it was doubtless felt that so unseemly an act of intervention was beneath the dignity even of an inferior form of the suzerain god; Shu was, therefore, borrowed for the purpose from the kindred cult of Anhur, and at Heliopolis, as at Sebennytos, the office was entrusted to him of seizing the sky-goddess and raising her with outstretched arms. — *Maspero*, "*Dawn of Civilization*," *p. 140*.

(5) **The Underworld.**—The other world, the Duat, is like Egypt, a valley between two mountains, divided in the midst by a river, the celestial Nile, of which the waters flow from west to north for half the way, and then turn from north to east. . . . This Egypt of the shades is divided into twelve regions, corresponding to each of the hours of the night, and which formed according to the case a country, a city, or a province, a stone house of chambers, and separate houses, dwellings or prisons, a vaulted hall, or a circle—to employ the word of Dante.

(6) **Boat of the Sun.**—The sun was a disc of fire placed upon a boat. At the same equable rate the river carried it round the ramparts of the world. From evening until morning it disappeared within the gorges of Duat; its light did not then reach us, and it was night.—*Maspero*, "*Dawn of Civilization*," *pp. 18, 19*.

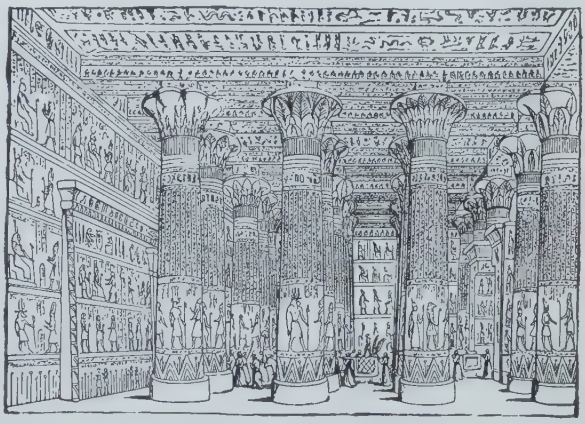
As soon as his bark appeared at the east bend of the celestial Nile, the cynocephali who guarded the entrance into night began to dance and gesticulate upon the banks as they intoned their accustomed hymn. The gods of Abydos mingled their shouts of joy with the chant of the sacred baboons; the bark lingered for a moment upon the frontiers of day, and instructed souls seized the occasion to secure their recognition and their reception on board of it.—*Ibid, pp. 197, 198.*

6. THE ABSTRACT RELIGION.

The forms of religion that we have already noticed are comparatively free from abstract ideas. The utmost that can be said of the animal worship is that it may have originated in the animals being adored as embodying or exemplifying certain attributes. Of *Osiris* it may be that he was a god of vegetation; and *Horus* and *Set* are looked on as the principles of good and evil. The whole cosmogony is essentially concrete, with hardly any abstraction traceable.

But another class of gods, which stand quite apart from all the others, are essentially abstract. *Ptah*, the god of Memphis, is the creator; he is not like the creator *Atmu*, identified with the sun; nor like the creator *Khnumu*, a potter; but he is the divine architect who ordains. And his companion goddess is even more abstract; *Maat* is law and orderly regulation, justice and principle, expressed in sign by the cubit measuring-rod. Such is one great abstract conception, the creator working by law and measure.

Another pair of abstractions was that of the divine Father, and of universal Mother Nature. The great father god was *Min* (otherwise rendered as *Khem*), represented by images furnished with a *phallos*, in whom all the beauty and life and vigor of nature rejoiced, (1) And parallel to him was *Hathor*, the great mother, who was worshiped in every capital of the country, and identified in turn with all the other goddesses. (2) In some places she was the sky, being identified with *Nut*, from whom sprang everything. In other places she was *Isis*, the principal divine mother of the earlier mythologies. In the early times, before 2000 B.C., she seems to have received a quarter of the whole devotion of the land, but in later periods her importance diminished.



Hypostyle Hall of the Esneh Temple.

We have now given some outline of the principal ideas of the Egyptian religion, but we have not attempted to enter on the details of the attributes or usual forms of the gods, which would convey little or no distinctive notion of the mental view.

There remain some other gods of great importance which do not form part of the main groups here presented, and which were strictly local in their origin. Several of these were partly human, partly animal. *Khnumu*, the ram-headed god of the cataract, was the modeler who frames each living man, being shown with a potter's wheel, on which he models a man. *Tahuti*, the ibis-headed god of Eshmunên, was the patron of learning, of wisdom, and of measurement; he is also connected with the moon, and the cynocephalus ape was sacred to him, and often shown as his emblem. *Amen*, the ram-headed or entirely human god of Thebes, was the great god of that district; (4) as such he had to be assimilated to *Ra*, when *Ra* (the sun) was supreme, thus becoming *Amen-Ra;* (4) and also assimilated to *Min*, the divine father, becoming *Min-Amen*. He was always associated with a local goddess, *Mut*, whose name means simply the "Mother." And their son *Khonsu* was connected with the moon. Owing to the political supremacy of Thebes, the influence of the worshipers of this triad of gods carried them widely throughout Egypt. *Sokar*, the Memphite god of the dead, was adored as a hawk; in early times he was united in worship with *Osiris*, as *Sokar-osiris*, and later on *Ptah*, of Memphis, was

joined with them as *Ptah-sokar-osiris.* This system of piling names together, confusing as it seems, is of great historical value, as it shows that such similar gods must have belonged to different tribes to begin with. *Bast*, the lion-headed goddess of Bubastis, was very important about 1000-700 B.C., when that city was the royal capital; but no very distinctive character was assigned to her, the worship being mainly associated with dances and orgies. *Bes*—perhaps connected with Bast—was the god of dancing; originally he seems to have been female, and the early figures of dancing girls and snake-charmers wear the lion-skin headdress and tail of *Bes;* later a waist-cloth was added, and the lion's beard led to transforming the whole figure into a male god. Probably he was a foreign importation from Arabia, after the prehistoric mixtures of races in Egypt. And another divinity that was mainly connected with foreigners was the goddess *Neit*, who was especially Libyan, and rose into importance when her city, Sais, became the capital of Egypt from about 660 to 330 B.C.

This is only the barest outline of the main features of a most complex group of simultaneously active religions in Egypt. In all there are reckoned to be about fifty important gods, fifty varieties of *Hathor*, about one hundred minor and local gods, thirty sacred animals, and about two hundred spirits and genii of Hades.

6. THE ABSTRACT RELIGION.

(1) **Hymn to Min.**—Glory to thee, Min of Koptos; . . . great of love, piercing the sky with the double feathers, lord of joy in the shrine, king of the gods, sweet of love, full of his mother, upon his great throne, great god in the two hemispheres, . . . male of the gods, valiant, prince of the desert, loving mankind, he has created youths. His abomination is to say, "Cut short the breath of life by which one lives;" causing to breathe him who follows his current (or ways) Fair of face, he enriches the two breasts; beautiful beyond the gods, his excellence is beyond the divine cycle, satisfying the majesty (of the king) in the desert and in the eastern mountains (the special abode of Min); . . . healing the sick, making the distressed to live, good physician to him that places him in his heart, making to live him whose heart is contracted. . . . I slept not at night, I rested not in the daytime, searching after thy beauties in my heart.—*Translated by Griffith in Petrie's "Koptos," p. 20.*

(2) **Nature of Hathor.**—She was the goddess of love and joy, to whom many festivals were dedicated, and whose magnificent temple at Denderah is still comparatively uninjured. Here she was esteemed the sum and substance of feminine godhead, and all goddesses were considered as forms or attributes of Hathor, worshiped under different names, so that, according to the priests of Denderah, all prayers to them were in reality addressed to Hathor.—*Wiedemann, "Religion," p. 142.*

The Egyptians knew that Hathor, the milch cow, had taken up her abode in their land from very ancient times, and they called her the Lady of Punt (south end of Red Sea), after the name of her native country.—*Maspero, "Dawn of Civilization," p. 84.*

The most famous of all the sacred trees, the Sycamore of the South, was regarded as the living body of Hathor on earth.—*Ibid., p. 122.*

The double of the dead met the god-cow Hathor, the lady of the west, in meadows of tall plants, where every evening she received the sun at its setting. If the dead man knew how to ask it according to the prescribed rite, she would take him upon her shoulders and carry him across the accursed countries at full speed.—*Ibid., p. 186*

(3) **Hymns to Amen.**—O Amen, lend thine ear to him who is alone before the tribunal; he is poor; he is not rich; the court oppresses him, silver and gold for the clerks of the book, garments for the servants. There is no other Amen acting as a judge to deliver one from his misery, when the poor man is before the tribunal, making the poor to go forth rich.

(Another).—I cry, The beginning of wisdom is the way of Amen, the rudder of truth. Thou art he that giveth bread to him who has none, that sustaineth the servant of his house. Let no prince be my defender in all my troubles; let not my memorial be placed under the power of any man who is in the house. My Lord is my defender; there is none mighty but him alone. Strong is Amen, knowing how to answer, fulfilling the desire of him who cries to him; The Sun, the true king of gods, the strong bull, the mighty lover of power.—*1200 "B.C. Records of the Past," VI., pp. 99, 100.*

(4) **Hymn to Amen-Ra.**—The one maker of existences, maker of beings, from whose eyes mankind came forth, of whose mouth are the gods; maker of grass for the cattle, and fruitful trees for men; causing the fish to live in the river, the birds to fill the air; giving breath to those in the egg, feeding the bird that flies, giving food to the bird that perches, to the creeping thing and the flying thing equally; providing food for the rats in their holes, feeding the flying things in every tree.

Hail to thee, say all creatures; salutation to thee from every land; to the height of heaven, to the breadth of the earth, to the depth of the sea, the gods adore thy majesty; the spirits thou hast created exalt thee, rejoicing before the feet of their begetter; they cry out welcome to thee, father of the fathers of all the gods, who raises the heavens, who fixes the earth.

Maker of beings, creator of existences, sovereign of life, health, and strength, chief of the gods, we worship thy spirit who alone hast made us; we, whom thou hast made, thank thee that thou hast given us birth; we give to thee praises on account of thy mercy to us.—*Ibid., VI., pp. 132, 133.*

FIRST WEEKLY REVIEW.

1. **NATURE AND DESTINY OF THE SOUL.**—Various views, Mummy, Ghost, Shadow, Soul, Glory, Will, Strength, Name, Offerings, Images, Sculptures, Paintings, Kingdom of Osiris, Human sacrifice, Ushabtis, The god Ra, Combat with spirits.
2. **DOMESTIC WORSHIP.**—Magic, Amulets for living and dead, Household cult, The niche, Horus with Isis, Osiris, Female figures, Monogram.
3. **WORSHIP OF ANIMALS.**—Its extension, Animals worshiped, No *tabu*, Sacramental feast, Not useful or emblematic, but superhuman, Apis, Mnevis, Bakis, Onuphis, The jackal
4. **THE OSIRIDE RELIGION.**—Osiris, Isis, Horus, Set. Nephthys, The Osiris myth, The kingdom of Osiris, Judgment, Aalu.
5. **THE COSMOGONIC RELIGION.**—Ra and his influence, Cosmogony, Nut, Seb, Shu, Ra, Horus, Khepra, Atmu, Three scenes, Twelve hours, Religious books, Sun in its boat.
6. **THE ABSTRACT RELIGION.**—Ptah and Maat, Min and Hathor, Khnumu, Tahuti, Amen, Amen-Ra, Min-Amen, Amen Nut and Khonsu, Bes, Neit.

Lion-form of some king, about 2,000 B.C. Later identified by the Egyptians with *Harmachis*, a solar *Horus*; and called by the Greeks a Sphinx.

QUESTIONS.

1. *How may the various views be accounted for? State the simplest notion and practice. State the subsequent changes in practice. State the Osiride view. What was the function of the ushabti? How was the "Book of the Dead" used?*

2. *How was magic applied? What forms of amulets were used? What was an important household cult? Name the gods of the later household cult. (The want of material evidence for an earlier household cult of nature-gods does not prove there was no such worship; indeed, it is morally certain that there was.) With what worship did that of Isis and Horus easily coalesce?*

3. *Mention some sacred animals. How was the species affected? How did these sacred animals end their lives? What was the source of this cult? Specify some famous cases described by Greek and Roman authors. Why was the jackal sacred?*

Mummy Case. Period of the New Empire.

4. *State the varying importance of the Osiris family. Explain how its various members arose. State their final relations. Sketch the myth of Osiris. Explain the preëminence of Osiris. What were deceased Egyptians called? Why? Describe the judgment before Osiris.*

5. *What part did sun-worship play? Relate the cosmogonic myth. Distinguish the various sun-gods. State the three scenes of creation. What did the twelve hours of the night represent? Why was the sun depicted on a boat?*

6. *Characterize Ptah and Maat. Who were Min and Hathor? How was Hathor identified? Name the Theban triad of gods. With what other gods was Amen associated? What was the origin of Bes and of Neit?*

SUBJECTS FOR SPECIAL STUDY.

1. *Recall the parallels to human sacrifice hitherto noted in other religions.*

2. *Compare the "orgies at Bubastis" with those mentioned on pages 322-23.*

3. *Specify some cases of animal worship in all the other religions hitherto studied, and thus correct a common error that animal worship was peculiar to Egypt.*

4. *With Osiris compare King Yama (p. 189) and Amida Buddha (pp. 265-66).*

5. *Compare with the many sun-gods here the four of Vedism (p. 182).*

6. *Point out the instances of political influence given in this lesson, and review other instances given in preceding lessons of this course.*

SEMITIC RELIGION.

BY

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7. THE SEMITIC PEOPLES.

THE name "Semitic" is applied to a body of peoples who in ancient times occupied districts in western Asia and spoke dialects which show many and striking similarities. Because the great majority of these peoples are described in Genesis as descendants of Shem, the son of Noah, they are called Shemites, more commonly written Semites.

Philology organizes them into two groups, northern and southern. The latter embraces the various Arabian communities and the Ethiopians. The northern Semites comprise the Babylonians and Assyrians, the Aramaeans (Syrians), the Canaanites, the Phoenicians, the Hebrews, Moabites, Ammonites, and Edomites. Linguistic and historical science is still uncertain as to the race character of the Egyptians, with an inclination in recent years in favor of a strong Semitic element in their constitution. Similarities of language and customs, together with contiguity of habitat, suggest that these peoples are offshoots from one common stock which in the earliest time occupied a single definite region. Scholars differ as to the common home of the original Semitic race, according as they are traced back to (*a*) Armenia, the region between the Caspian and the Black seas; (*b*) Africa, the district opposite the straits of Bab-el-Mandeb; (*c*) southern Mesopotamia, the alluvial region of the lower Euphrates; (*d*) central and northern Arabia. The last view is most in favor. It is geographically more central, and this desert region seems to be most suited to produce what are generally recognized as the primitive Semitic traits.

Assyrian Head.

The various branches of the Semitic race have played a large and significant part in the world's history. Politics, art, science, and religion owe much to their activities. The earliest civilization was probably Semitic. The Semites built up the first

great empires, were the pioneers in trade, industry, and commerce in the ancient world. Those nations of human history which show most clearly the evidence of progress and which are most closely bound together today in the interests of civilization trace back the beginnings of their advancement to the Semitic communities of western Asia. Three of the world's great religions come from this race. (1) One of the branches of it—the Hebrews or Jews—still lives and prospers in western civilization, vigorous, aggressive and resourceful.

Not distributed so widely as the other great races, they seem to have turned in upon themselves and built up a racial character of a remarkably enduring type and of striking unity of feature. The very facial peculiarities have been preserved, as a glance at the accompanying Assyrian head reveals. Many of these fundamental traits still linger in the nomad Bedouin of today. Indeed, an essential element in the progress of the Semites is found in the contiguity of desert and cultivated land. The wide, sandy, and rocky wastes of Arabia blend impercebtibly into the more fertile and attractive Syrian and Mesopotamian plains and valleys. Thus nomad and agriculturist reacted upon one another, and progress was a slow blending of customs and activities from both spheres. The influence of this element in the social and political life of the Semitic communities was important. Equally significant was the part it played in their religion.

The Semite has always been a marked and peculiar man. Such characteristics as tenacity of purpose, somberness of disposition, which passes, however, on occasion, into bursts of extravagant joy, great hospitality and courtesy, yet cruelty and relentless enmity, intense religiosity, yet abundant sensuality, little constructive and synthetic power, have with good reason been ascribed to him. (2)

7. THE SEMITIC PEOPLES.

(1) **Importance of Early Semitic Religion.**—Our subject, however, is not the history of the several religions that have a Semitic origin, but Semitic religion as a whole in its common features and general type. Judaism, Christianity, and Islam are *positive* religions; that is, they did not grow up like the systems of ancient heathenism, under the action of unconscious forces operating silently from age to age, but trace their origin to the teaching of great religious innovators, who spoke as the organs of a divine revelation, and deliberately departed from the traditions of the past. Behind these positive religions lies the old unconscious religious tradition, the body of religious usage and belief which cannot be traced to the influence of individual minds, and was not propagated on individual authority, but formed part of that inheritance from the past into which successive generations of the Semitic race grew up as it were instinctively, taking it as a matter of course that they should believe and act as their fathers had done before them. The positive Semitic religions had to establish themselves on ground already occupied by these older beliefs and usages; they had to displace what they could not assimilate, and, whether they rejected or absorbed the elements of the older religion, they had at every point to reckon with them and take up a definite attitude towards them. No positive religion that has moved men has been able to start with a *tabula rasa*, and express itself as if religion were beginning for the first time; in form, if not in substance, the new system must be in contact all along the line with the older ideas and practices which it finds in possession. A new scheme of faith can find a hearing only by appealing to religious instincts and susceptibilities that already exist in its audience, and it cannot reach these without taking account of the traditional forms in which all religious feeling is embodied, and without speaking a language which men accustomed to these old forms can understand. Thus, to comprehend a system of positive religion thoroughly, to understand it in its historical origin and form as well as in its abstract principles, we must know the traditional religion that preceded it. It is from this point of view that I invite you to take an interest in the ancient religion of the Semitic peoples; the matter is not one of antiquarian curiosity, but has a direct and important bearing on the great problem of the origins of the spiritual religion of the Bible.—*W. Robertson Smith*, "*Religion of the Semites*," *pp. 1, 2*,

(2) **Semite Characteristics.**—This race founded no lasting empires, and showed no great aptitude for art or for literary style; but, in point of religion, it has communicated to the world impulses of immeasurable force, which will act powerfully on the world as long as the Prophet is named or Christ preached. . . . The Semitic races differ from the Indo-European, with whom alone we need compare them, in their greater intensity of disposition and a corresponding poverty of imagination. The Semite has a smaller range of ideas, but he applies them more practically and more thoroughly. He has, indeed, an intensely practical turn, and does not touch philosophy except under an irresistible pressure of great practical ideas, while for plastic art he has no native inclination. From this it follows that the religious views he entertains appear to him less as ideas than as facts, which must be reckoned with to their full extent as other common facts of life must, and from which there is no escape. His religious convictions, therefore, are apt to be carried out to their utmost extent, even at the cost of great and painful sacrifices. —*Menzies*, "*History of Religion*," *pp. 156-57*.

8. EARLY SEMITIC RELIGION. SOURCES AND SCOPE.

A common home and race character suggest common elements of primitive religion from which the separate communities develop the various religious systems which history records. This question is particularly interesting in the case of the Semites because of the relation of Christianity to Judaism, the religion of a Semitic people. What are these primary elements of Semitic religion? To determine them requires (*a*) the collection of contributions of the various distinct worships, (*b*) their careful comparison in order to determine the common traits which may reasonably be ascribed to this period of beginning. Only a portion of this work falls within our field. The study of the great religions of the Semitic world is to be taken up elsewhere in this series. But the contribution of the early cults and less highly organized systems is valuable because they ordinarily preserve in a cruder form survivals of original forms of religious life. (1)

Difficulties arise in any systematic presentation of early Semitic religion because few memorials, and these in fragmentary form, are available for study. Were it not that ancient religion is a very conservative institution and preserves some very ancient customs even when their significance is lost, any discussion at all would be impossible. These survivals, however, in custom, cult, and language are speaking memorials of an earlier time. Religions now dead have left behind temples and idols, or have found descriptions in travelers' tales or the pages of ancient historians. Codes of laws, coins, funeral inscriptions, and tombs in general often yield grateful results.

Arabia, where nomadism is the permanent social system, yields the simplest and crudest forms of religion. Early Arabic poetry which precedes the introduction of Mohammedanism, has preserved some memorials of it. The cults of Syria, where political organization never reached unity, are second in importance. Our knowledge of the Canaanites receives valuable incidental contributions from the Old Testament, while much useful material is furnished for the Aramaeans by the Pseudo-Lucian, whose treatise "On the God of Syria" has come down to us. The Phœnician religion, yet further advanced in organization, has yielded much more material to excavation in the way of religious objects and inscriptions, besides being described in a fragmentary way by Greek writers and late native historians writing in Greek.

All this is scanty enough, and warns the student against hasty generalization and too great expectations of certain knowledge.

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8. EARLY SEMITIC RELIGION. SOURCES AND SCOPE.

(1) **A Phœnician Inscription.**—To our lord Melkarth, the lord of Tyre. The offerer is thy servant, Abd-Osiri, and my brother, Osiri-Shomar, both (of us) sons of Osiri-Shomar, the son of Abd-Osiri. In hearing their voice, may he bless them. —*On a Cippus found in Malta, quoted in Rawlinson's "Phœnicia," p. 400.*

A Phœnician Cosmogony.—From the wind, Colpia, and his wife, Bahu, which is by interpretation "Night," were born Aeon and Protogonus, mortal men so named; of whom one, viz., Aeon, discovered that life might be sustained by the fruits of trees. Their immediate descendants were called Genos and Genea, who lived in Phœnicia, and in time of drought stretched forth their hands to heaven towards the sun; for him they regarded as the sole Lord of Heaven, and called him Baalsamin, which means "Lord of Heaven" in the Phœnician tongue, and is equivalent to Zeus in Greek. And from Genos, son of Aeon and Protogonus, were begotten mortal children, called Phos, and Pyr, and Phlox (*i.e.*, Light, Fire, and Flame). These persons invented the method of producing fire by rubbing two pieces of wood together, and taught men to employ it. They begat sons of surprising size and stature, whose names were given to the mountains whereof they had obtained possession, viz., Casius, and Libanus, and Antilibanus, and Brathy. From them were produced Memrumus and Hypsuranius, who took their names from their mothers, women in those days yielding themselves without shame to any man whom they happened to meet. Hypsuranius lived at Tyre, and invented the art of building huts with reeds and rushes and the papyrus plant. He quarreled with his brother, Usôus, who was the first to make clothing for the body out of the skins of the wild beasts which he slew. On one occasion, when there was a great storm of wind and rain, the trees in the neighborhood of Tyre so rubbed against each other that they took fire, and the whole forest was burnt; whereupon Usôus took a tree, and having it cleared of its boughs

was the first to venture on the sea in a boat. He also consecrated two pillars of Fire and Wind, and worshiped them, and poured upon them the blood of the animals which he took by hunting. And when the two brothers were dead, those who remained alive consecrated rods to their memory, and continued to worship the pillars, and to hold a festival in their honor year by year.—*From Philo Byblius, translated in "Rawlinson's "Phœnicia," pp. 387-88.*

Light from the Grave.—Occasionally we get a glimpse, beyond the mere dry facts, into the region of thought, as where the erector of a monument appends to the name of one, whom we may suppose to have been a miser, the remark, that "the reward of him who heaps up riches is contempt"; or where one who entertains the hope that his friend is happier in another world than he was upon earth, thus expresses himself: "In memory of Esmun. After rain, the sun shines forth;" or, again, where domestic affection shows itself in the declaration concerning the departed: "When he entered into the house that is so full (of guests), there was grief for the memory of the sage, the man that was hard as adamant, that bore calamities of every sort, that was a widower through the death of my mother, that was like a pellucid fountain, and had a name pure from crime. Erected in affection by me, his son, to my father."—*Rawlinson, "Phœnicia," p. 402.*

Religion and Early Society.— Religion in primitive times was not a system of belief with practical applications; it was a body of fixed traditional practices, to which every member of society conformed as a matter of course. . . . Strictly speaking, indeed, I understand the case when I say that the oldest religions and political institutions present a close analogy. It would be more correct to say that they were parts of one whole or social custom. Religion was a part of the organized social life into which a man was born, and to which he conformed through life in the same unconscious way in which men fall into any habitual practice of the society in which they live. Men took the gods and their worship for granted, just as they took the other usages of the state for granted; and if they reasoned or speculated about them, they did so on the presupposition that the traditional usages were fixed things, behind which their reasonings must not go.—*W. Robertson Smith, "Religion of the Semites," pp. 20, 21.*

Meyer's Estimate of Primitive Semitic Religion.—Semitic religious conceptions are but little complex. The powers active in nature go forth from spirits, daemons, who act according to their mood, and who, according to circumstances, have friendly or unfriendly feelings towards man, and must be won by him through sacrifice and prayer. They dwell above all in trees and stones and heights. The cultus particularly is connected with holy stones. Next to them are the daemons that protect family and house, primarily the guardian lord of the tribe, who lives with it, grants it victory and power, and as belonging especially to it stands in sharp contrast both to all other widely worshiped deities and to all foreign tribes. Next are also the phenomena of heaven, the sun and moon god, the "lord of heaven" is worshiped. Behind all these powers, like the chief at the head of the tribe, stands the highest god, *Il.* He is indeed the highest world power, but on that account he stands far from men, is unapproachable by them, is acknowledged, but little worshiped, and often quite ignored; and so is explained why the word *God* among these various Semitic peoples is some form of *Il.* The relation of individuals to these deities is conceived of in a strictly practical and calculating way; no ethical or mystical relation. Man is the servant of *God*, before whom he bows in the dust. He may influence the subordinate and local daemons, but feels himself utterly dependent upon the great powers of nature, and unconditionally obedient to them. Hence the development of brutal religious fanaticism and a bloodthirsty cult. Out of this feeling springs the much described monotheistic tendency of the Semitic religions. The local god is the supreme lord of his worshipers, but the development of these views rests upon the principle of exclusion, not of speculation or mystical pantheism."—*E. Meyer, "Geschichte des Altertums," Vol. I.*

Phœnician Rites.—But there were two respects in which the religion was, if not singular, at any rate markedly different from ordinary polytheisms, though less in the principles involved than in the extent to which they were carried out in practice. These were the prevalence of licentious orgies and of human sacrifice. The worship of Astarte was characterized by the one, the worship of Baal by the other. Phœnician mythology taught that the great god, Il or El, when reigning upon earth as king of Byblus, had, under circumstances of extreme danger to his native land, sacrificed his dearly loved son, Ieoud, as an expiatory offering. Divine sanction had thus been given to the horrid rite; and thenceforth, whenever in Phœnicia either public or private calamity threatened, it became customary that human victims should be selected, the nobler and more honorable the better, and that the wrath of the gods should be appeased by taking their lives. The mode of death was horrible. The sacrifices were to be consumed by fire; the life given by the Fire God he should also take back again by the flames which destroy being. The rabbis describe the image of Moloch as a human figure with a bull's head and outstretched arms; and the account which they give is confirmed by what Diodorus relates of the Carthaginian Kronos. His image, Diodorus says, was of metal, and was made hot by a fire kindled within it; the victims were placed in its arms and thence rolled into the fiery lap below. The most usual form of the rite was the sacrifice of their children—especially of their eldest sons—by parents. This custom was grounded in part on the notion that children were the dearest possession of their parents, and, in part, that as pure and innocent beings they were the offerings of atonement most certain to pacify the anger of the deity; and further, that the god of whose essence the generative power of nature was had a just title to that which was begotten of man, and to the surrender of their children's lives. . . . Voluntary offering on the part of the parents was essential to the success of the sacrifice; even the first-born, nay, the only child of the family, was given up. The parents stopped the cries of their children by fondling and kissing them, for the victim ought not to weep; and the sound of complaint was drowned in the din of flutes and kettledrums. Mothers, according to Plutarch, stood by without tears or sobs; if they wept or sobbed they lost the honor of the act, and their children were sacrificed notwithstanding. Such sacrifices took place either annually or on an appointed day, or before great enterprises, or on the occasion of public calamities, to appease the wrath of the god.—"*History of Phœnicia," pp. 345-47.*

9. THE NOMADIC RELIGION.

The simplest form of Semitic social organization and the most primitive cult are found among the nomadic tribes of northern Arabia. Hence these may be regarded as affording a type of early Semitic religion. Two elements condition this religion.

(*a*) Nature in Arabia is monotonous and its aspect unfavorable. Desert beneath, and the wide sky above, the whirling wind and frequent storm, the burning sun, the infrequent oasis, the scanty means of subsistence—all tend to produce few nature-gods, to connect those with the air and the heaven, and to lay the emphasis upon the stern side of nature in its relation to man. The most widely-known divine name among the Semites is *Il*, "the Strong One," or "the High One," found in almost all Semitic languages (Assyrian, *Ilu;* Hebrew, *El;* Phœnician, *Alon;* Arabic, *Allah*, etc.). Hence the attitude of deity toward man is that of absolute power, of authority arbitrary, irresistible, and inevitable. The attitude of man is that of dependence, submission, unquestioning obedience, and devotion. This is expressed most clearly in that extensive Semitic practice of human sacrifice even of which almost every Semitic religion bears evidence more or less clear. It is shown likewise in those names of worshipers which Phœnician inscriptions have preserved, containing a divine name compounded with *abd*, "slave," or *kelb*, "dog," *e.g.*, *kalbiel*, "dog of god."

(*b*) Contrasting with the comparatively narrow range of the nature influence is the intimate relation of this religion to the social organization of the Semitic nomads. The center of life is the tribe to which the individual is subordinate, in which his individuality is swallowed up. The essential element of tribal organization is blood kinship. This makes the tribe a unity. This unity is maintained by the common meal, and manifested in the assembly for war—two essential elements of tribal membership. Religion exists in this unity, and sanctions it. The god is the protector, father, ruler of the tribe. The common meal is not enjoyed without him; he, too, partakes in it. It is the primitive sacrifice in which the compact, the blood fellowship, human and divine, is revived and strengthened. On such occasions alone flesh is eaten, the flesh of a sacred animal, by which the bond of deity and worshipers is cemented yet more strongly. (1) Thus divine power and favor enter into the very heart of the community. The god lives in it, fights for it, protects and blesses it. This tribal conception of deity was held by the Semitic nomads with extraordinary intensity, as the sense of tribal unity was highly developed among them. This was characteristic of desert life where the sum of varied external interests is small. The relations of man become more important than the aspects of nature. The latter are significant chiefly as they affect his life and that of his flocks and herds. Worship must be simple and the objects of worship portable. (2)

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9. THE NOMADIC RELIGION.

(1) **Meaning of Primitive Semitic Sacrifice.**—The sacred function is the act of the whole community, which is conceived as a circle of brethren, united with one another and with their god by participation in one life or life-blood. The same blood is supposed to flow also in the veins of the victim, so that its death is at once a shedding of the tribal blood and a violation of the sanctity of the divine life that is transfused through every member, human or irrational, of the sacred circle. Nevertheless, the slaughter of such a victim is permitted or required on solemn occasions, and all the tribesmen partake of its flesh, that they may thereby cement and seal their mystic unity with one another and with their god. In later times we find the conception current that any food which two men partake of together, so that the same substance enters into their flesh and blood, is enough to establish some sacred unity of life between them; but in ancient times this significance seems to be always attached to participation in the flesh of a sacrosanct victim, and the solemn mystery of its death is justified by the consideration that only in this way can the sacred cement be procured which creates or keeps alive a living bond of union between the worshipers and their god. This cement is nothing else than the actual life of the sacred and kindred animal, which is conceived as residing in its flesh, but especially in its blood, and so, in the sacred meal, is actually distributed among all the participants, each of whom incorporates a particle of it with his own individual life.

It is common, in discussions of the significance

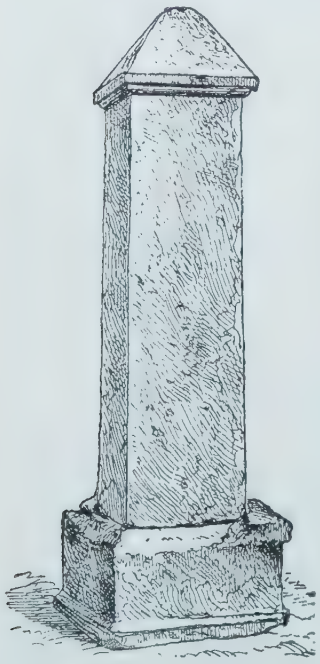
of piacular ritual, to begin with the consideration that piacula are atonements for sin, and to assume that the ritual was devised with a view to the purchase of divine forgiveness. But this is to take the thing by the wrong handle. The characteristic features in piacular sacrifice are not the invention of a later age, in which the sense of sin and divine wrath was strong, but are creatures carried over from a very primitive type of religion, in which the sense of sin, in any proper sense of the word, did not exist at all, and the whole object of ritual was to maintain the bond of physical holiness that kept the religious community together. What we have to explain is not the origin of the sacrificial forms that later ages called piacular, but the way in which the old type of sacrifice came to branch off into two distinct types. And here we must consider that, even in tolerably advanced societies, the distinction between piacular and ordinary offerings long continued to be mainly one of ritual, and that the former were not so much sacrifices for sin, as sacrifices in which the ceremonial forms, observed at the altar, continued to express the original idea that the victim's life was sacrosanct, and in some way cognate to the life of the god and his worshipers. Thus, among the Hebrews of the preprophetic period, it certainly appears that a peculiar potency was assigned to holocausts and other exceptional sacrifices, as a means of conjuring the divine displeasure; but a certain atoning force was ascribed to all sacrifices; and, on the other hand, sacrifices of piacular form and force were offered on many occasions when we cannot suppose the sense of sin or of divine anger to have been present in any extraordinary degree. . . .

On the whole it is apparent, from the somewhat tedious discussion which I have now brought to a close, that the various aspects in which atoning rites presented themselves to ancient worshipers have supplied a variety of religious images which passed into Christianity, and still have currency. Redemption, substitution, purification, atoning blood, the garment of righteousness, are all terms which in some sense go back to antique ritual. But in ancient religion all these terms are very vaguely defined; they indicate impressions produced on the mind of the worshiper by features of the ritual, rather than formulated ethico-dogmatical ideas; and the attempt to find in them anything as precise and definite as the notions attached to the same words by Christian theologians is altogether illegitimate. The one point that comes out clear and strong is that the fundamental idea of ancient sacrifice is sacramental communion, and that all atoning rites are ultimately to be regarded as owing their efficacy to a communication of divine life to the worshipers, and to the establishment or confirmation of a living bond between them and their god. In primitive ritual this conception is grasped in a merely physical and mechanical shape, as indeed, in primitive life, all spiritual and ethical ideas are still wrapped up in the husk of a material embodiment. To free the spiritual truth from the husk was the great task that lay before the ancient religions, if they were to maintain the right to continue to rule the minds of men. That some progress in this direction was made, especially in Israel, appears from our examination. But, on the whole, it is manifest that none of the ritual systems of antiquity was able by mere natural development to shake itself free from the congenital defect inherent in every attempt to embody spiritual truth in material forms. A ritual system must always remain materialistic, even if its materialism is disguised under the cloak of mysticism.—*W. Robertson Smith, "Rel. of the Semites," pp. 312-313, 381-2, 418-9.*

(2) Characterization of the Nomadic Semitic Religion.—The names for God among the Semites show us that for them the original object was not how to obtain a religious conception of the various developments of life in nature, but how to express their own subjection to the irresistible force revealed in nature. . . . As the peculiar genius of the Semitic languages generally makes it difficult to separate the noun from its verbal root, we certainly have here a strong barrier against the development of myth proper, against the individualizing of the gods, that is, against polytheism properly so called, while at the same time the strongly personal conception of the idea of God rendered the transition to pantheism difficult. The unity of God was not an article of faith. But the plurality of divine forces, being thought of as a matter of course, excited little interest. The God to whom prayer was addressed, or who was regarded as specially interested in the particular people, exercised quite an exceptional influence over the religious life. . . . With this is connected what is generally called the "particularist" idea of God, viz., the paying of almost exclusive attention to the god whom the particular tribe claims as its own, either along with or in opposition to the other gods. . . . This "uniformity" of religious life was favored not only by the language, but also by nature and by the national development of these peoples. The pastoral tribes of the desert did not find in nature a bright and varied life, but only the august and uniform omnipotence that kills as well as vivifies, the light which is at the same time a consuming heat. Hence, with all their power of imagination, there was really a want of variety in their conceptions And they lacked a rich and harmoniously-developed social and political life. They devoted their mental energies with resolute persistency to a few subjects. Human life, when spent amid quiet, monotonous surroundings, affords but little scope for the exhilaration of joy, and for the consciousness of freedom; it rather tends to foster a spirit of submission and resignation. Not as if the children of the desert were pious in the proper sense. Indifference is often the result of resignation. But if the religious sense be awakened, then in such circumstances it delights to manifest itself in entire self-surrender. From the very poverty of the life it gains in fervor and passion, and may thus turn out to be the one element which, not being weakened by distracting feelings, holds sovereign sway over the soul.

Of such a soul the natural product is, on the one hand, prophecy, and on the other, wild religious enthusiasm, with its fanatical devotion to God, its sacrifices of children, its self-mutilations, and its tribute of maidens. Moreover, since every higher development of political and social life is absent, the ethical element in religion must likewise be lacking. . . . Owing to its peculiar characteristics, this religion had no strong tendency to image-worship or to priestly mediation. In Canaan, as in Arabia, the symbols of the divine presence were sacred stones and trees. There were no statues of the gods. There were, at the most, symbolical figures in which the strength and the wisdom of the godhead were worshiped.—*Schultz, "Old Testament Theology," I., pp. 102-104.*

10. THE AGRICULTURAL RELIGION.



Phoenician Masseba.

When the Semite passed over into the more fertile regions of the Mesopotamian plain or the Syrian hills and valleys, a new series of experiences modified his religious life. He came face to face with a very different world, with rivers and green hills, groves, fountains, and grottos, luxuriant vegetation, the haunts of innumerable wild animals. It was the opposite of the dreary and monotonous waste of the desert. Now nature greeted him in her benignant mood and welcomed him to the enjoyment of her free gifts or rewarded him for the labor of his hands. The tribal organization is broken up by settlement. The tribal god must find a resting-place in the land. Hence local religion is the characteristic mark of this stage of development. Every hill, every grove, every stream, every fountain, every locality which possesses some peculiar characteristics has its deity, who is the lord of the place and the dispenser of its gifts, the embodiment of its fertility. Thus appears the old Semitic idea of power localized and personified in the local *Baal*, "Lord." He is objectified sometimes in the animals of the place, or in a tree or stone which marks the spot. Sometimes an artificial mound or pillar (*masseba*) is provided for the god to dwell in. As lord of the place and giver of its blessings, his worship consists in bringing the first fruits of the ground or of cattle, in anointing the stone or pillar with blood or oil. (1) His worshipers gather at the stated seasons of the year, in spring or autumn or winter, for festivals in his honor, where the old idea of communion sacrifice is revived in the common meal with the god. Though joy and thanksgiving give the keynote to the spring and autumn feasts, the coming of winter is the signal for grief and distress, for the god is dead or he has forsaken his worshipers, and no gift or sacrifice can be too great to win him back. Indeed, he may and sometimes does claim even the first fruits of the womb; and infants are slain to his glory, children become his property, maidens sacrifice their chastity in his honor. By his side there often stood his consort, *Astarte*, who received a separate worship as a mother goddess, queen of fertility and abounding life, in symbols (of which the *ashera*, a tree or stake, was most common) and forms often rude and sensual. (2) Such was the religion of the Agricultural Canaanites of Palestine with which the Hebrews came in contact and by which they were so affected.

Astarte with the dove.

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10. THE AGRICULTURAL RELIGION.

(1) **The Baal.**—In Semitic religion the relation of the gods to particular places which are special seats of their power is usually expressed by the title *Baal*. As applied to men *baal* means the master of a house, the owner of a field, cattle or the like; or in the plural the *baalim* of a city are its freeholders and full citizens. In a secondary sense, in which alone the word is ordinarily used in Arabic, *baal* means husband; but it is not used of the relation of a master to his slave, or of a superior to his inferior, and it is incorrect to regard it, when employed as a divine title, as a mere synonym of

the titles implying lordship over men. When a god is simply called "the *Baal*," the meaning is not "the lord of the worshiper," but the possessor of some place or district, and each of the multitude of local *Baalim* is distinguished by adding the name of his own place. *Melcarth* is the *Baal* of Tyre, *Astarte* the *Baalath* of Byblus; there was a *Baal* of Lebanon, of Mount Hermon, of Mount Peor, and so forth. In Southern Arabia Baal constantly occurs in similar local connections, *e.g.* Dhū Samāwī is the Baal of the district Bācir, 'Athtar the Baal of Gumdān, and the sun-goddess the Baalath of several places or regions.

As the heathen gods are never conceived as ubiquitous, and can act only where they or their ministers are present, the sphere of their permanent authority and influence is naturally regarded as their residence.—*W. Robertson Smith, "Religion of the Semites," pp. 92 94.*

(2) A Semitic Shrine.—Gublu, or—as the Greeks named it—Byblos, prided itself on being the most ancient city in the world. The god *El* had founded it at the dawning of time, on the flank of a hill which is visible from some distance out at sea. A small bay, now filled up, made it an important shipping center. The temple stood on the top of the hill, a few fragments of its walls still serving to mark the site; it was, perhaps, identical with that of which we find the plan engraved on certain imperial coins. Two flights of steps led up to it from the lower quarters of the town, one of which gave access to a chapel in the Greek style, surmounted by a triangular pediment, and dating at the earliest from the time of the Seleucides; the other terminated in a long colonnade, belonging to the same period, added as a new façade to an earlier building, apparently in order to bring it abreast of more modern requirements. The sanctuary which stands hidden behind this incongruous veneer is, as represented on the coins, in a very archaic style, and is by no means wanting in originality or dignity. It consists of a vast rectangular court surrounded by cloisters. At the point where lines drawn from the centers of the two doors seem to cross one another stands a conical stone mounted on a cube of masonry, which is the *beth-el* animated by the spirit of the god; an open-work balustrade surrounds and protects it from the touch of the profane. The building was perhaps not earlier than the Assyrian or Persian era, but in its general plan it evidently reproduced the arrangements of some former edifice. At an early time *El* was spoken of as the first king of Gablu, in the same manner as each one of his Egyptian fellow-gods had been in their several nomes, and the story of his exploits formed the inevitable prelude to the beginning of human history. Grandson of *Eliûn*, who had brought Chaos into order, son of *Heaven* and *Earth*, he dispossessed, vanquished, and mutilated his father, and conquered the most distant regions one after another —the countries beyond the Euphrates, Libya, Asia Minor and Greece; one year, when the plague was ravaging his empire, he burnt his own son on the altar as an expiatory victim, and from that time forward the priests took advantage of his example to demand the sacrifice of children in moments of public danger or calamity. He was represented as a man with two faces, whose eyes opened and shut in an eternal alternation of vigilance and repose; six wings grew from his shoulders, and spread fan-like around him. He was the incarnation of time, which destroys all things in its rapid flight; and of the summer sun, cruel and fateful, which eats up the green grass and parches the fields. An *Astarte* reigned with him over Byblos—*Baalat-Gublu*, his own sister; like him, the child of *Earth* and *Heaven*. In one of her aspects she was identified with the moon, the personification of coldness and chastity, and in her statues or on her sacred pillars she was represented with the crescent or cow-horns of the Egyptian *Hathor;* but in her other aspect she appeared as the amorous and wanton goddess in whom the Greeks recognized the popular concept of *Aphrodite*. Tradition tells us how, one spring morning, she caught sight of and desired the youthful god known by the title of *Adoni*, or "My Lord." We scarce know what to make of the origin of *Adonis*, and of the legends which treat him as a hero—the representation of him as the incestuous offspring of a certain King Kinyrat and his own daughter Myrrha is a comparatively recent element grafted on the original myth; at any rate, the happiness of the two lovers had

The Temple at Byblos.

lasted but a few short weeks, when a sudden end was put to it by the tusks of a monstrous wild boar. *Baalat-Gublu* wept over her lover's body and buried it; then her grief triumphed over death, and *Adonis*, ransomed by her tears, rose from the tomb, his love no whit less passionate than it had been before the catastrophe. This is nothing else than the Chaldean legend of *Ishtar* and *Dûmûzi* presented in a form more fully symbolical of the yearly marriage of *Earth* and *Heaven*. Like the Lady of Byblos at her master's approach, *Earth* is thrilled by the first breath of spring, and abandons herself without shame to the caresses of *Heaven;* she welcomes him to her arms, is fructified by him, and pours forth the abundance of her flowers and fruits. Then comes summer and kills the spring: Earth is burnt up and withers; she strips herself of her ornaments, and her fruitfulness departs till the gloom and icy numbness of winter have passed away. Each year the cycle of the seasons brings back with it the same joy, the same despair into the life of the world; each year *Baalat* falls in love with her *Adonis* and loses him, only to bring him back to life and lose him again in the coming year.—*Maspero, "The Struggle of the Nations," pp. 172-5.*

11. STATE CULTS. MOABITES. PHOENICIANS.

A higher stage of social and political organization follows for the Semites, where the wealth of agricultural communities increases or where commerce, trade, or industry takes an important place. This development culminated in the great empires on the Tigris and Euphrates, or, in a lesser degree, in the western kingdoms of Israel and Judah, or Moab, Edom and Ammon, or the commercial cities of Phoenicia. In such cases religion becomes an affair of the state; the cult is developed and ennobled; religious officials are appointed and paid; splendid temples are built; the local or tribal deity becomes the god of the state and its divine king. The whole affords, however, a striking illustration of the survival and intensification of primitive Semitic ideas of religion. (1)

The chief monument of the Moabite religion is the *stele* set up by Mesha, king of Moab, in commemoration of his victory over the king of Israel. (2) *Chemosh* is the god of Moab, and is lord and protector of the state. His name signifies, perhaps, the "Overpowering" one. Under his leadership victory is gained. King and citizens are his servants. The spoil of victory is his. The war of Moab and Israel is the struggle of *Chemosh* with *Jehovah*. The fanatic dependence on the deity characteristic of this cult is seen in that strange narrative of 2 Kings, ch. iii. Deliverance must be secured, though it costs the life of the king's son. The god must be appeased.

Baal—Hammon

The Phoenicians, living on the promontories or islands of the eastern Mediterranean coast, became the great traders of the oriental world. But they never attained political unity, and their religion consisted of a series of more or less local city cults. It preserved, also, many primitive characteristics, such as would have disappeared if a unity of state life had ever been secured. The two elements of nature and tribe religion appear in it side by side. A favorite title for deity is *Milk* (*Melek*), "King," appearing in *Melkarth* of Tyre, the most widely worshiped of Phoenician deities, almost a national god. *Eshmun*, god of healing, *Baalshamen*, *Baalhamman* and others, are nature gods. The *Baalat* of Gebal owed her prominence to the little stream flowing down from the mountains which turned blood-red in the spring. Gebal became a sacred city for all Phoenicia. The ritual seems to have been very elaborate at the greater temples. Lists of clean and unclean animals, of the kinds of sacrifice suitable for certain occasions, with regulations governing the ritual have been discovered. (3) The temples have almost all disappeared. One at Amrit remains. Others are represented on coins. The symbol of divinity, whether a stone or picture or image, stood in the midst of a court with only a railing about it. At Amrit it stood in the midst of a lake. Most of these symbols were rough and crude, mere blocks or rough-hewn pieces of stone. Evidently the priesthood at such temples was well organized. A striking personage of Phoenician religion is the *nbi*, "prophet," "seer." Traces of the various systems of doctrine are thought to survive in the different forms of myths handed down, but these

probably belong to a later period. The accounts of the ritual show that it was bloody. Human sacrifice lingered in Phoenicia long after it had disappeared elsewhere, and was carried to the Phoenician colonies. The offering of young children and the devotion of maidens to the god is a well-established Phoenician custom.

As a trading people the Phoenicians were familiar with the religions of other states and borrowed many things from them. Egypt, especially, contributed much from the *Osiris* cult. It has been thought that the *Kabiri*, dwarf gods, were taken from Egypt. The Phoenician religion had much which reminds us of the Hebrew religion, only in a cruder, less developed and less purified form.

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11. STATE CULTS. MOABITES. PHOENICIANS.

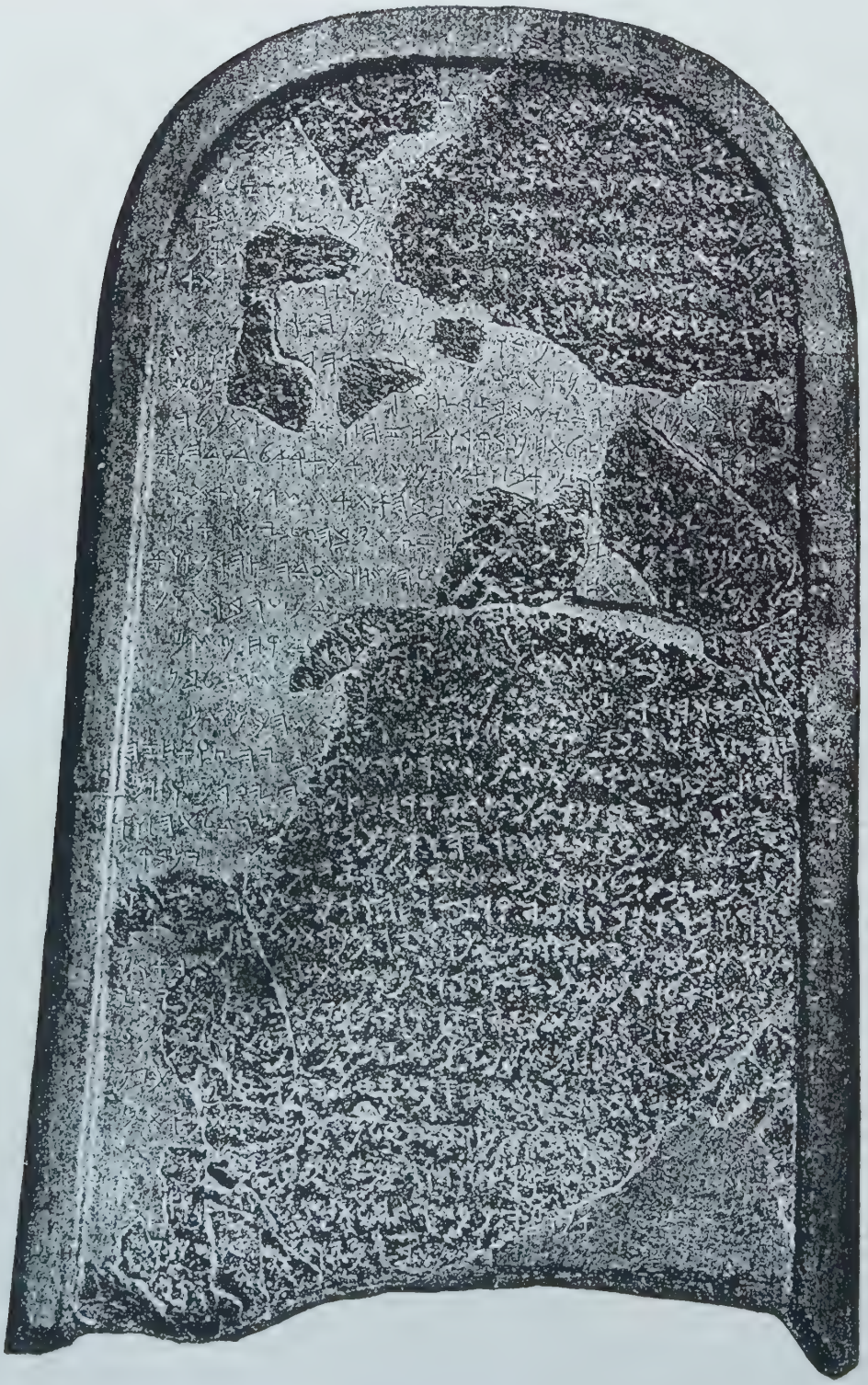
(1) **The God of the State.**—He is the founder of a state; he is the inventor of navigation and of purple; he is the first king; when a colony is sent out, it goes with his approval, and he himself leads the expedition; he is the dread ruler whom none must disobey; the majesty, the power, and the enterprise of the state are all embodied in him. And as the king-god is far above the landlord-god in power, he is infinitely removed from him in character also. The chief gods of Sidon and Tyre have nothing luxurious or effeminate about them. They are strict and awful beings, and must not be incautiously approached. They retain their primitive character as sources of life, but they are destroyers of life as well. Pure and holy themselves, they require purity and holiness in all who draw near to them. Their priests are celibates, their priestesses virgins. They require sacrifices of a very different nature from those of the *Baals*, more costly and more dreadful. Human sacrifices appear to have been a regular feature of their worship.—*Menzies, "History of Religion," p. 169.*

(2) **The Mesha Stone, or Moabite Stone.**

1. I am Mesha' son of Chemoshmelek, king of Moab, the Da-
2. -ibonite. My father reigned over Moab for thirty years, and I reign-
3. -ed after my father. And I made this high place for Chĕmōsh in QRHH, a high place of sal-
4. -vation, because he had saved me from all the kings (?); and because he had let me see my pleasure on all them that hated me. Omr-
5. i was king over Israel, and he afflicted Moab for many days, because Chemosh was angry with his la-
6. -nd. And his son succeeded him; and he also said, I will afflict Moab. In my days said he th[us;]
7. but I saw my pleasure on him, and on his house, and Israel perished with an everlasting destruction. And Omri took possession of the [la-]
8. -nd of Mehēdeba, and it (*i.e.* Israel) dwelt therein, during his days, and half his son's days, forty years; but [resto-]
9. -red it Chemosh in my days. And I built Ba'al-Me'on, and I made in it the reservoir (?); and I built
10. Qiryathên. And the men of Gad had dwelt in the land of 'Ataroth from of old; and built for himself the king of I-
11. srael 'Atroth. And I fought against the city, and took it. And I slew all the [people of]
12. the city, a gazingstock unto Chemosh, and unto Moab. And I brought back, (*or*, took captive) thence the altar-hearth of Davdoh (?), and I drag-
13. -ged it before Chemosh in Qeriyyoth. And I settled therein the men of SHRN, and the men of
14. MHRTH. And Chemosh said unto me, Go, take Nebo against Israel. And I
15. went by night, and fought against it from the break of dawn until noon. And I too-
16. -k it, and slew the whole of it, 7000 men and . . . . , and women, and . . .
17. -s, and maid-servants; for I had devoted it to 'Ashtor-Chĕmōsh. And I took thence the [ves-]
18. -sels of YAHWEH, and I dragged them before Chemosh. And the king of Israel had built
19. Yahaz, and abode in it, while he fought against me. But Chemosh drave him out from before me; and
20. I took of Moab 200 men, even all its chiefs; and I led them up against Yahaz, and took it
21. to add it unto Daibon.

—*Translation of S. R. Driver.*

(3) **The Cultus Inscription of Marseilles.** — The temple of Baal. . . . Account of the payments fixed by those set over the payments, in the time of our lords, Halats-Baal, the Suffes, the son of Abd-Tanith, the son of Abd-Esmun, and of Halats-Baal, the Suffes, the son of Abd-Esmun, the son of Halats-Baal, and of their colleagues: For an ox, whether as burnt sacrifice, or expiatory offering, or thank offering, to the priests (shall be given) ten (shekels) of silver on account of each; and, if it be a burnt sacrifice, they shall have beside this payment three hundred weight of the flesh; and if the sacrifice be expiatory, (they shall have) the fat and the additions, and the offerer of the sacrifice shall have the skin, and the entrails, and the feet, and the rest of the flesh. For a calf without horns and entire, or for a ram, whether as burnt offering, or expiatory offering, or thank offering, to the priests (shall be given) five (shekels) of silver on account of each; and if it be a burnt sacrifice, they shall have, besides this payment, a hundred weight and a half of the flesh; and if the sacrifice be expiatory, they shall have the fat and the additions, and the skin, and entrails, and feet, and the rest of the flesh shall be given to the offerer of the sacrifice. . . . Every payment which is not prescribed in this tablet shall be made proportionately to the rate fixed by those set over the payments in the time of our lords, Halats-Baal, the son of Abd-Tanith, and Halats-Baal, the son of Abd-Esmun, and their colleagues Every priest who takes a payment beyond the amount prescribed in this tablet shall be fined. . . . And every offerer of a sacrifice who shall not pay (the amount) prescribed, beyond the payment which (is here fixed, he shall pay. . . . —*Rawlinson, "Phoenicia," p. 399.*



The Moabite Stone.

12. THE FUTURE LIFE. MORALS. SUMMARY.

The more primitive Semitic cults have left behind few, if any, memorials which illustrate their belief concerning the future. It is from the Phoenician remains and from survivals in other higher faiths that our knowledge must come. The existence of life after death was fully believed in by these early Semites. The dead are conscious; they dwell in the graves where the dead bodies lie; with them are buried various utensils, spoons, lamps, drinking glasses, amulets; a sort of worship is given to them. The greatest pains are taken that the body be not disturbed, since then the spirit finds no resting-place. Food is offered at the grave, or buried with the dead. (1) The favorite food of the dead is blood. No doubt there was a sort of worship of the dead, who were thought to have the power to injure or benefit the survivors; but there is no real basis for the view held by some that the worship of the Semitic deities was an outgrowth of the worship of ancestors, or, indeed, was preceded by this.

It is difficult to estimate the moral character of this primitive religion, since religion is so closely connected with other social customs wherein primitive morality abides. One thing, however, is evident. The conception of a tribal unity, presided over by the god who is at the same time father and king of his tribe, affords a starting-point for a higher ethics. The individual exists for the tribe, sinks himself and his own interests unconsciously, perhaps, but yet really, in the life of the whole, and feels therein the blessing of his tribal god. It is also true that in the fundamental Semitic conception of the deity as power lies the possibility of higher morality. The power at first is arbitrary and incomprehensible in its dealings, but man must submit, and with the growing sense of social order religion keeps pace and consecrates all law as from the supreme lawgiver and judge. Thus the Semite learns to be obedient to the power above him; and because he is at the same time tribal god, he has less relation to nature and a deeper human value. It is no wonder, therefore, that, in connection with such beginnings as this, small and rude though they are, the religion of *Jehovah* appeared to proclaim the supreme law of righteousness.

It is from this point also that the tendency of the Semitic religion toward monotheism can be understood. The primitive Semitic religions uniformly emphasized the element of supreme power. Closest to the Semitic mind of all the innumerable crowd of powers was that power who protected, blessed, and united himself with the tribe. Thus a tendency toward the recognition of one god as a practical fact appeared at an early date. From the tribe the god passed to the state, and in the Hebrew state he was purified, glorified, and set apart in supreme and single majesty by the prophets of *Jehovah*. (2) Thus at the time when the Aryan was still bound in fetters of all-embracing though refined naturism, or, at the most, philosophizing in pantheistic phrase upon the universe, the Hebrew was learning the secret which he was to teach the world in the doctrine of the one holy God. (3)

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12. THE FUTURE LIFE. MORALS. SUMMARY.

(1) **The Last Words of Esmunazar.** — I am snatched away before my time, the child of a few days, the orphan son of a widow; and lo! I am lying in this coffin, and in this tomb, in the place which I have built. I adjure every royal personage and every man whatsoever that they open not this my chamber, and seek not for treasures there, since there are here no treasures, and that they remove not the coffin from my chamber, nor build over this my chamber any other funeral chamber. Even if men speak to thee, listen not to their words, since every royal personage and every other man who shall open this funeral chamber, or remove the coffin from this my chamber, or build anything over this chamber—may they have no funeral chamber with the departed, nor be buried in tombs, nor have any son or descendant to succeed to their place.—*Rawlinson, "History of Phoenicia," p. 395.*

(2) **Morals and Monotheism.** — As regards their ethical tendency, the difference between Eastern and Western religion is one of degree rather than of principle. All that we can say is that the east was better prepared to receive the idea of a god of absolute righteousness, because its political institutions and history, and, not least,

the enormous gulf between the ideal and the reality of human sovereignty, directed men's minds to appreciate the need of righteousness more strongly, and accustomed them to look to a power of monarchic character as its necessary source. A similar judgment must be passed on the supposed monotheistic tendency of the Semitic as opposed to the Hellenic or Aryan system of religion. Neither system, in its natural development, can fairly be said to have come near to monotheism; the difference touched only the equality or subordination of divine powers. But while in Greece the idea of the unity of God was a philosophical speculation, without any definite point of attachment to actual religion, the monotheism of the Hebrew prophets kept in touch with the ideas and institutions of the Semitic race by conceiving the one true God as the king of absolute justice, the national God of Israel, who at the same time was, or rather was destined to become, the God of all the earth, not merely because His power was world-wide, but because as the perfect ruler He could not fail to draw all nations to do Him homage — *W. Robertson Smith, "Religion of the Semites," pp. 74-75.*

(3) Semite and Indo-European in Religion.— Even in the field of religion the nations of Indo-European civilization display a richer genius than the Semites; but they lack that tremendous energy which produced the belief in the unity of God, not as a result of scientific reflection, but as a moral demand, tolerating no contradiction. This strength of faith, which has subdued the world, is necessarily associated with much violence and exclusiveness. — *Nöldeke, "Sketches from Eastern History," p. 7.*

SECOND WEEKLY REVIEW.

7. **THE SEMITIC PEOPLES.**—Name; Northern group, Southern group, Original home, Earliest civilization, Habitat, Traits.
8. **EARLY SEMITIC RELIGION. SOURCES AND SCOPE.**—Semites, Christianity, Collection, Comparison, Survivals, Arabia, Syria, Canaan, Aramaea, Phoenicia.
9. **THE NOMADIC RELIGION.**—Arabia, Aspect of Nature, Divine names, Human attitude, Aspect of society, Relation to it of the god.
10. **THE AGRICULTURAL RELIGION.**—Mesopotamia or Syria, Local god, Baal, Masseba, Blood, Joy and grief, Astarte, Ashera.
11. **STATE CULTS, MOABITES, PHOENICIANS.**—Empires, kingdoms, and cities, The gods of Moab and Israel, Phoenicia, Milk or Melek, Ritual, Egypt.
12. **THE FUTURE LIFE. MORALS. SUMMARY.**—Burial, Worship, Tribal unity and ethics, Nature-power and ethics, Monotheism.

QUESTIONS.

7. *Define the term Semites. Classify them into two groups. Discuss their home. What part have the Semites played in the world's history? Characterize them.*
8. *How can the elements of Semitic religion be discovered? Of what use are survivals? Specify some individual contributions.*
9. *Why seek earliest traits in Arabia? Describe the natural environment of religion there. Describe the social environment.*
10. *How did settled life modify Semitic ideas? Who was Baal? How objectified? What two leading traits has he? Who was Astarte? How objectified?*
11. *What conditions elevated Semitic religious notions? Compare the deities Chemosh and Jehovah. What was the favorite title of a Phoenician deity? What sacrifice lingered in Phoenicia? What influence had Egypt?*
12. *How were the dead treated? How did the tribal god promote ethics? How the nature-god? How did Hebrew monotheism arise?*

SUBJECTS FOR SPECIAL STUDY.

1. *Compare the chief traits of Mongolians, Indo-Kelts, and Semites, the world's three historic races.*
2. *Trace primitive Semitic elements in the Hebrew Scripture.*
3. *The special elements from nature and society that have proved formative in the reader's own notion of God. Mr. John Fiske, when a boy, visualized God as a white-haired bookkeeper.*
4. *Trace this instructive phase of Semitism further by consulting Smith's "Dictionary of the Bible," or "The Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia," under the terms "Astarte" and "Baal." Especially consult Exodus 34 : 12-17, Judges 6 : 25-6, 2 Chron. 34 : 4, Isaiah 57 : 3-8.*
5. *Why did the worship of Chemosh perish, while that of Jehovah spread widely?*
6. *Compare the Greek, Hebrew, and Hindu monotheisms.*

The King drinking in the presence of friendly nature-demons.

RELIGION OF BABYLONIA AND ASSYRIA.

BY

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13. SOURCES. ORIGIN OF THE PANTHEON.

Before the discovery and the deciphering of the cuneiform inscriptions, our knowledge of the religion of the people that lived in ancient times on the borders of the Euphrates and Tigris was limited to the information given by Greek authors. Since 1835 a great number of documents have been found in the ruin-mounds of the now almost deserted country that bear testimony to the power and civilization of its ancient inhabitants. Parts of temples and palaces were laid bare, inscriptions were found and deciphered by the ingenuity of English and French scholars, and an almost unknown world was revealed. The excavations of the latest years, conducted by the French consul, de Sarzea, and by the University of Pennsylvania, added materials of the highest value to the large collections of monuments preserved in London, Paris, and Berlin. (1)

One of the most remarkable finds was the discovery of the remains of Sardanapalus' (668-626 B.C.) library in the mound of Kojundshik (Nineveh), that provided us with numerous texts, copied by order of the king. These copies form the chief source for our knowledge of Babylonian religious life, and contain prayers, incantations, forecasts, lists of gods, lists of temples, etc. But as they do not mention the date of the originals they were taken from, and as there is only a small number of well-preserved texts (owing to the fragility of the tablets, made of baked clay), our knowledge of the religion, though increasing every year, is still very imperfect, especially as to its development.

In the oldest times a number of small kingdoms existed in North and South Babylonia (Ur, Uruk, Eridu, Larsa, Lagash, Nippur, Agade), the population being formed by tribes of different descent and race. Among these the Sumerians possessed a high civilization. Before 3800 B.C. Semitic tribes took possession of a part of the country (kingdom of Sargon of Agade, 3800 B.C.), and after 2250 B.C. Babel became the predominating town (conquests of King Chammurabi). One branch of the Semites, the Assyrians, settled in Mesopotamia; their might increased, and several times the Babylonian empire was overpowered by Assyrian kings. After the fall of Nineveh, the capital of the Assyrians, there was a short time of glory for

Babylon (Nabopolassar, Nebukadrezar), until it was conquered by the Persians under Cyrus (538 B.C.).

The history of the religion runs to a certain degree parallel to the political history. (2) The Sumerians were the inventors of the cuneiform script, became the teachers of the Semites, who in that period did not not know how to write, and their language was for centuries used in religious texts. Their influence on the religion of the Semites has been important, but is not to be overrated, as the religious ideas of both were doubtless very similar. (3) Each town possessed a small pantheon, and was always governed by the Lord and Lady of the town. Where the population of a town was homogeneous, the gods were also of uniform nature; in the case of diverse origin among the inhabitants, there was a difference also between the characters of the gods; for men make their gods according to their own peculiar qualities.

Heads of statues from Telloh

As the Semites of Babylon became predominant in the country, the gods of their capital town took the leading place, but in many instances the Lords of other places were brought into relation with them by the schools of priests. The gods were almost always believed to live in matrimony, and so it was easy to make genealogies, which, owing to the differences between the schools of priests, were not always in harmony. Local deities of the same character were often regarded as different manifestations of one god; and thus it happens that we have an enormous number of names for some twenty gods, representing distinct types.

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13. SOURCES. ORIGIN OF THE PANTHEON.

(1) **Excavations at Nippur.**—From the excavations made by the University of Pennsylvania at Nippur it is evident that Babylonia is the country where flourished the oldest human civilization we know of. At Nippur were found tablets, which date at least from about 6000 B.C.

We now know that in the times of glory of Nineveh and Babylon the name of "Nippur" was as familiar to the dwellers in those cities as the names of Nineveh and Babylon are to us, and that Nippur exercised on their religious life and religious development an influence as potent as that of Jerusalem on our own. The temple of Bel at Nippur was to the religion of Babylonia and Assyria very much what the temple of Jerusalem was to our religion. It was this city, which exercised so great an influence on the religious life of the people, that so long dominated the civilized world, and so materially affected and determined the religious and scientific development of both Orient and Occident, and particularly the great temple of Bel in that city, the oldest temple in the world, which the University of Pennsylvania Expedition explored.—*J. T. Peters, "Nippur," p. vi.*

(2) **Principles of Growth.**—By the two rules, (*a*) parallelism between history of religion and political history, and (*b*) that gods are formed according to the peculiar character of the race, the growth of the Babylonian pantheon is to be explained. The local gods of the Semitic tribes were similar because the men that worshiped them possessed common traits. As long as the tribes were independent one from another, the gods were regarded as independent powers, but as soon as the formation of states brought the tribes into nearer relations this similar character of the gods gave occasion for the priests to construe them as manifestations of one god. That each town possessed a pantheon is evident from Lagash, where a great number of gods were worshiped even in the oldest times. Among those gods we find (besides the great nature-gods, and the Lord and Lady of the place) also some gods of the towns who represented their own towns in the capital. — *Cf. "Records of the Past," New Series, Vol. II., p. 86.*

(3) **Sumerians and Semites.**—The features of religious belief among early mankind are of no great diversity. So *e.g.*, there was no chasm between the Sumerian and the Semitic religions; and as the Semites adopted the Sumerian system of writing and scholarship, they simply used other names for their gods and evil powers, while the Sumerian religious ideas in general were quite familiar to them, as they are to a certain degree even to the wandering Arabs of today.

We have no right to maintain, as a matter of fact, that the religion of the Sumerians was a rough shamanism, either before their connection with the Semites, or before they settled on the shore of the Persian gulf, that their culture was a mere sorcery, and that the beings they believed in were no gods, but mere spirits which they transformed into gods in later times. . . . If they were ever in such a state, then this was a long time before our oldest documents were written.—*C. P. Tiele, "Geschiedenis von de godsdienst in de Oudheid," Vol. I., p. 135.*

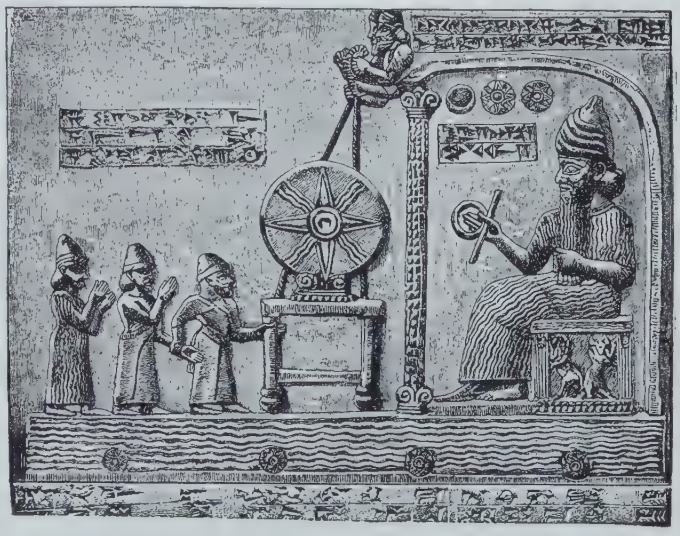
14. GODS. (LOCAL CULTS. THE PANTHEON.)

The Babylonian-Assyrian gods belong to the class of nature-gods. In many instances the heavenly bodies are believed to be their incorporations, but we must remember that gods and stars were not identified; it was only that by means of them that the gods showed themselves. In other cases we find animals as an attribute of gods, because the peculiar power of a god was especially proper to a certain animal, but the animal itself was not esteemed as a god.

The first place of the Pantheon is taken by *Ana* or *Anu*, God of Heaven. In the inscriptions of Gudea, priest of Lagash, he and his companions *Bel*, and *Ea*, are already mentioned at the head of the list of gods, but at the same time we know him as the local god of Urick, where he, his wife *Anatu* and his daughter *Nana*, or *Ishtar*, are worshiped in the temple E-anna, house of heaven.

Bel (the lord=*Baäl*), Lord of the Earth-mountain, takes the second place, and is the local god of Nippur. In ancient times his temple at Nippur was famous, but afterwards most of the glory of the ruler of mankind was transferred to *Maruduk*, the local god of Babylon. (1)

Ea is the God of the Waters that surround the Earth-mountain, and also of the waters beneath the earth. The place of his local cult was Eridu, where he was worshiped as Lord of Wisdom. In the depth of the sea is his home. He speaks to mankind in dreams; he knows the secret exorcisms against evil spirits; as Lord of the Waters he bestows fertility; as Lord of Wisdom he is the patron of artists and workmen.



Priest introducing votaries to Shamash, the Sun-god in his shrine.

These three gods, with their wives, *Anat*, *Belit* and *Damkina*, are consequently the rulers of the universe (heaven, earth, and the deep waters around and beneath the earth).

Of little lower rank are the three gods *Sin*, *Shamash* and *Ishtar*. *Sin*, the Lord of the Moon (the local god of Ur in Babylonia and of Harran in Mesopotamia), is often called the father of *Shamash* (the Sun). As some peasants still do, the Babylonians believed in the influence of the moonlight on the growth of plants, and so he is venerated as Lord of Fertility; the mysterious transformations of his shape are the reason that he is believed to be a mighty sorcerer, who creates himself, and according to this possesses sacred wisdom (Lord of Decrees).

Shamash, Lord of the Sun, was the local god of Larsa and Sippar. In the morning the doors of heaven are opened and from between two mountains he drives in his carriage, guided by Bunene the charioteer. He is the great judge, the counselor of the gods, and as Lord of the Sunlight he is a friendly power that frightens the wicked.

Ishtar, the Lady of Heaven, is identified with the star Venus. She is unmarried, and her position among the gods represents the position of women in the times of the matriarchate, when the mother was the head of her family, without regarding the various fathers of her children as husbands. Thus her cult was of great sensu-

ality; and in historical times, when the matriarchate had been long forgotten, she was worshiped as the Lady of Fertility, especially in Uruk. On the other hand, she reminds us of the Amazons, when as the Lady of the Battle (as she is often called in the historical inscriptions) she rides on a leopard, bearing bow and arrows. (2)

The god *Ramman*, Lord of Wind, Thunder and Lightning, Rain and Storm, was imported in early times from the Syrian countries. His character is the same as that of the Israelitic *Jahwe*, (*Jehovah*) the bull being his animal, while he bears powerful horns on his head.

The local god of Babylon was *Maruduk*. Under the famous king Chammurabi (2250 B.C.) his town become the capital of the country, and so *Maruduk's* glory rose. As son of *Ea* he is the mighty sorcerer, who knows all his father knows. He is the creator, the god of light, the conqueror of the great dragon of darkness, *Tiamat*. The fate of mankind is settled by him in the chamber of destiny, and his name is *Pel beli*, Lord of Lords. Even the Assyrian kings worshiped him in Babylon. He was the national Babylonian god, as *Ashur* was the national god of Assyria.

Ashur is the only god that is particularly Assyrian. Perhaps he was originally the Lord of the town Ashur, but his origin is not sufficiently clear. In Assyria he is the Lord of Lords, the father of the gods, whose banner is at the head of the troops, for the wars of the kings are his wars; it is the glory of his name that frightens the enemy, and to him a part of the booty is dedicated.

With this one exception, the Assyrian pantheon is wholly the same as that of Babylonia. Besides the gods already mentioned, there are worshiped in both countries *Ninib*, the warrior, a sun-god, whose wife *Gula* "vivifies death;" *Nergal* (local god of Kutu), a god of war, a terrible lion, symbolizing the burning summer sun, also the lord of the deceased, the king of Hades; *Nabu* (*Nebo*), the great god of Borsippa, the patron of the scholars, to whom mankind is indebted for the art of writing, the gracious lord, the messenger and son of *Maruduk; Gibil*, Lord of Fire and *Nusku*, the messenger of the gods.

Those are the "ilani rabuti," the great gods, but there is a large number of gods of less prominent position: the seven spirits of heaven (the *Igigi*), and the seven spirits of earth (*Anunnaki*); *Duzu* (*Tammuz*), the god of the sun in spring-time, whose place is at the door of heaven; *Namtor*, the god of pestilence; and all the other gods whose names are preserved to us.

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14. GODS. (LOCAL CULTS. PANTHEON.)

(1) Hymn to Maruduk.

I praise thy name, O Maruduk, mighty one of the gods, ruler of heaven and earth,
Who hath been well created, is exalted alone by himself.
Thou dost raise up the divinity of Anu, of Bel, thou dost bind all kings, O thou perfect of strength.
Strong, a prince, a great lord, a mighty potentate (art thou).
The Anunnaki have made great his dominion, have battled for him,
In heaven art thou great, on the earth thou art king, wise and of good counsel.
Who establishes all dwelling-places, who holds the ends of the starry heavens.
Thou art mighty amongst the gods; beget! thou, whom *Ea* hath begotten.
Into thy hands the great gods have delivered the carrying out of destinies.
They kissed thy feet, they spoke, they were gracious. . . . They are all subject to thee,
Igigi, Anunnaki, gods, goddesses, cities, governors, princes.
Favorite of Ea, the first-born, mighty, strenuous, who makes enemies tremble,
I beseech thee, mighty and powerful lord, let thy heart which is angered be quieted, let thy mind be appeased. Let him who has offended, obtain forgiveness, let him live through thee, O Maruduk, exalted prince of the gods!—*Brünnow*, "*Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*," *VI. p. 60.*

(2) **Hymn to Ishtar.**—Light of heaven, thou art like the fire shining on earth, Ishtar at thy appearing on earth, thou, who art precious (?) like the earth, the righteous salute thee. As thou enterest the house of mankind, thou art a tiger that will seize a kid, thou art a lion running in the fields. Light, virgin, ornament of heaven, Ishtar, virgin, ornament of heaven, that art placed in a brilliant habitation, ornament of heaven, sister of Shamash, ornament of heaven. (Ishtar answers) I appear to fulfill the decrees, powerful I appear, I appear for my father Sin to fulfill the decrees, I appear for my brother Shamash to fulfill the decrees, etc. I am Ishtar, Lady of the Night, I am Ishtar, Lady of the Morning.—*Jeremias*, "*Izdubar-Nimrod*," *p. 61.*

15. TEMPLES. PRIESTS. OFFERINGS. FEASTS.

A town of any importance possessed a number of temples, and among those one *ziggurat* or "tower-temple." The *ziggurat* consists of several terraces, made of bricks, on the top of which a small chapel was erected, open in front, with an altar before it. The chapel contained the image of the god; sometimes the walls of the terraces were made of enameled bricks in different colors (black, white, purple, blue, red, silver and gold). The top was reached by steps or by a sloping way. On the lower floors were rooms dedicated to various other gods. So in Esagila, the famous tower-temple of Babylon, were smaller temples for *Maruduk's* wife, *Nabu*, *Ea*, *Anu* and *Bel.*

The temples contained imitations of the supposed real dwellings of the gods (house of the great mountain of earth, house of the fundament of heaven and earth, house of heaven, etc.). The great ocean, that surrounds the world, was represented in a temple of Lagash by a basin; the "chamber of destiny" was imitated in Esagila.

God Ea.

Of course, the oldest temples were of a modest construction, but the kings were always engaged in repairing and embellishing the houses of their gods; and in the times of Nebukadrezar the Great, the chief-temple of Babylon was a complex of temples, surrounded by a huge wall, with large courtyards and a great *ziggurat* of seven stories. (1)

The priests were persons of great influence, not only by their position in the temples, but also by their knowledge. People wanted them for the writing of contracts, for medicaments, exorcisms, and forecasts. In many instances we find women as priests, even royal princesses. Their revenues consisted in parts of the offerings and in the profits from the possessions of the temple. The kings endowed the temples with fields, slaves, necessaries of the service (oil, incense, meal, and animals), and in many instances priests lent silver or corn; especially in the older times they are usually the bankers.

All sorts of perfect animals could be offered to the gods; the kings offer at special occasions, and often a temple receives from them the necessaries for a daily offering. The gods were supposed to eat and drink the essences of the things offered to them, and therefore at least twice daily they were supplied with a meal. Every undertaking: a campaign, hunting party, building of a house, etc., was opened by an offering, and, when finished, thank-offerings were given. Human sacrifices were not unusual, though not unknown, but of the offering of children there is not any example or trace. In the cult of *Ishtar* the sacred prostitution was of importance. The priests introduced the offerer to the god, leading him by the hand, and after introducing him, the gifts were poured out or burned on the altar.

Every day was dedicated to some particular god, at least in later times, as is stated in long lists (hemerologies). The seventh, fourteenth, twenty-first, twenty-eighth, and also the nineteenth of a month were "Sabbaths," days of rest for the king, but not for the whole people. (2)

Our knowledge of the feasts is still very limited. Best known is the feast "Zagmuku," the feast of the New-year, which began in the Spring. In Babylon it was celebrated with great splendor. Conformably to human custom, the gods went to visit *Maruduk*, Lord of Lords, in his "chamber of destiny." From the near Borsippa *Nabu* came on his holy ship, and *Maruduk* himself went to receive him. The gods of other places were also brought to Babylon, and whilst they were bowing to him *Maruduk* determined the events of the coming year. (3)

Another feast was celebrated in honor of *Duzu* or *Tammuz*, the young Sun-god, that was killed and had gone to Hades. The women planted little gardens, which soon were burned by the heat of the summer sun, as a symbol of the death of the god of fertility, and they recited mourning-songs. (4)

Every god had his annual feast, but about the particulars of them we still know very little.

15. TEMPLES. PRIESTS. OFFERINGS. FEASTS.

(1) Temples and Revenues.

INSCRIPTION ON STATUE A OF THE LOUVRE.

Cartouche engraved on the right shoulder.

Gudea,
the patesi
of SHIRPURLA,
who the temple E-NINNU
of the god NIN-GIRSU
has constructed.

Statue of King Gudea from Tello, about 2800 B.C.

COLUMN I.

For the goddess NIN-GHARSAG,
the goddess who protects the city,
the mother of its inhabitants,
for his lady,
Gudea
the patesi
of SHIRPURLA
her temple of the city GIRSU-KI
has constructed.

COLUMN II.

Her sacred *altar* (?)
he has made.
The holy throne of her divinity
he has made.
In her sanctuary he has placed them.
From the mountains of the land of MAGAN

COLUMN III.

a rare stone he has caused to be brought;
for her statue
he has caused it to be cut.
"O goddess who fixes the destinies of heaven and
earth,
NIN-TU
mother of the gods,
of Gudea

COLUMN IV.

the builder of the temple
prolong the life!"
by this name he has named it (*i.e.*, the statue),
and in the temple he has placed it.

—"*Records of the Past*," *New Series*, *II.*, *pp. 75, 76.*

(2) **Sabbath.**—The fourteenth day is sacred to Belit and Nergal. It is a lucky day, a Sabbath. The shepherd of men shall not eat what is cooked or stewed, he shall not change his clothes and not wear bright garments, he shall not pour libations. The king shall not drive in his carriage, nor speak in his quality. The seer shall not place his mouth in the place of mystery. The medical man shall not touch the sick, for speaking a conjuration the day is not fitted. In the night the king shall place his offer-gift to Belit and Nergal and pour libations. His prayer shall be favored by the gods.—*Rawlinson*, "*Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*," *IV.*, *23*, *6 13-22.*

(3) **Zagmuku-feast.**—I (Nebukadrezar) made brilliant like the sunshine the door of Esagil. Du-azog, "the chamber of destiny" of Ubshuginna, the place of fate, in which the king of the gods of heaven and earth, the lord of lords, comes at Zabmuku, the beginning of the year on the eighth and eleventh day in order to destine the fate of my life, the fate forever, whilst the gods of heaven are bowing to him respectfully, his shrine, the shrine of his kingdom and lordship, sacred to the leader of the gods, the prince Maruduk, which a former king made of silver, I covered with brilliant gold. The utensils of the temple I covered with red gold and the holy ship I embellished with jewels like the stars of heaven.—"*Keilinschriften Bibl*," *III.*, *14*, *15.*

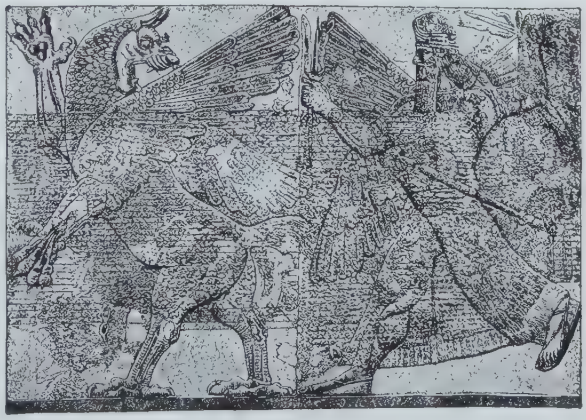
(4) **Mourning-Song over Duzu.** — Shepherd, Lord, Duzu, beloved of Ishtar, lord of Hades, lord of the Dwelling-place, thou art like a grain of seed, that did not drink water in the furrow, the husk of which does not produce a flower in the field; thou art like a twig that is not planted near water, a twig of which the root is withered, a plant that did not drink water in the furrow. . . .

He went to the deep of earth, Shamash educated him for the land of death, lamentation came over him on the day of great affliction, in the month cutting off the year of his life, on the way, upon which all is finished with mankind, that gives rest to men, (he went) to the lamentations of death, he, the hero, went to the far land, that cannot be seen. —*Rawlinson*, "*Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*," *IV.*, *27*, *30.*

16. MYTHOLOGY.

The Assyrians and Babylonians believed the earth to be a huge mountain, surrounded by the sea. The heaven was a cupola supported by the wall of the horizon. At the east and west side were doors for the sun, that rises from the "chamber of destiny" in the east wall, and that sets in the "midst of heaven" in the west wall. This world was created by *Maruduk*. Before the creation of heaven and earth there existed *Tiamat*, the great dragon, living in the ocean. Then the gods were born and war arose between *Tiamat* and the gods, among whom *Maruduk*, son of *Ea*, was the great warrior. Armed with seven winds, thunder and lightning, he went to meet *Tiamat;* and as a terrible wind blew her up, so that she was unable to shut the mouth, *Maruduk* then threw his net over her and cut her into two parts. One part was extended by him as heaven, the other part became the earth. Then the poles were fixed, the bodies of heaven placed, and mankind was created. This myth dates from the times of *Maruduk's* (Babylon's) supremacy. (1)

Another myth is "*Ishtar's* descent into Hades." After the death of *Duzu* (*Tammuz*), the god of the sun, in spring-time, *Ishtar*, his beloved, mourned for him. She decided to go into Hades, the world of death, that lies deep below the earth, in order to take the "water of life" with which she may revive her lover. She passes through the seven gates of Hades, and at every gate the guard takes a part of her dress, until finally she arrives naked. During the absence of *Ishtar* all vegetation and generation ceases on earth. The queen of Hades strikes *Ishtar* with diseases. Now *Ea* creates a helper, which is sent to her assistance. The queen of Hades is overpowered, the source of the water of life is opened, and *Ishtar*, after being cured, returns, and every year *Duzu* revives in the spring.



Maruduk quelling Tiamat, or "Bel and the Dragon."

Historical elements are found in the great epos of *Gilgamesh*, the Babylonian *Hercules*, whose deeds are glorified in twelve songs. In very old times the town of Uruk was besieged by an enemy and saved by *Gilgamesh*, who became king. As he was growing mightier every day, the goddess *Aruru* created *Eabani* in order to resist him, but by means of a woman dedicated to *Ishtar*, they became friends. They made a campaign against the Elamitic king Chumbaba. After conquering his city they returned to Uruk, where a great feast was arranged. Now the goddess *Ishtar* asked *Gilgamesh* to be her consort, but he refused and reproached her with the fickleness of her love. (2) Full of wrath she made complaint to her father *Anu*, who created a great bull, that, however, was killed by *Eabani*. After a new war against Nippur, *Eabani* died, while *Gilgamesh* suffered from leprosy. In order to be cured he went to see his deceased forefather, *Tsit Napishtim*, living on the isle of the blessed at the mouth of the rivers. A long and difficult travel it was. Finally he came to the seashore, where he found the ferryman. They rowed forty-five days and reached the isle. Here *Tsit Napishtim* told him the story of his deluge, his escape, and glorification on the isle of the blessed; then he cured him at the fountain of life and gave him a plant that would protect him from illness. *Gilgamesh* returned to Uruk, but on the way home the plant was stolen by a

serpent. In Uruk he complained of not finding *Eabani* on the isle of the blessed, but the god *Nergal* called the ghost of *Eabani*, which told him of the mystery of the land of the dead, where he was living.

16. MYTHOLOGY.

(1) Creation.

At that time the heaven above had not yet announced,
or the earth beneath recorded, a name;
the unopened deep was their generator,
MUMMU-TIAMAT (the chaos of the sea) was the mother of them all.
Their waters were embosomed as one, and
the corn-field was unharvested, the pasture was ungrown.
At that time the gods had not appeared, any of them;
by no name were they recorded, no destiny (had they fixed).
Then the (great) gods were created.
LAKHMU and LAKHAMU issued forth (the first),
until they grew up (when)
AN-SAR and KI-SAR were created.
Long were the days, extended (was the time, until)
the gods ANU, (BEL and EA were born),
AN-SAR and KI-SAR (gave them birth).
The rest of the tablet is lost.
—"*Records of the Past*," *New Series I., p. 133.*

. . . . . .

They (the gods) approached MERODACH the king.
They bestowed upon him the sceptre (and) throne and reign,
they gave him a weapon unsurpassed, consuming the hostile.
"Go," (they said), "and cut off the life of TIAMAT;
let the winds carry her blood to secret places."
The gods of his fathers also hear the report of EA:
"A path of peace and obedience is the road I have caused (him) to take."
There was too the bow, as his weapon he prepared (it);
he made the club swing, he fixed its seat;
and he lifted up the sacred weapon which he bade his right hand hold.
The bow and the quiver he hung at his side.
he set the lightning before him;
with a glance of swiftness he filled his body.
He made also a snare to enclose the dragon of the sea.
He seized the four winds that they might not issue forth, any one of them,
the south wind, the north wind, the east wind (and) the west wind.
His hand brought the snare near the bow of his father ANU.
He created the evil wind, the hostile wind, the storm, the tempest,
the four winds the seven winds, the whirlwind, the unending wind;
and he caused the winds which he had created to issue forth, the seven of them,
confounding the dragon TIAMAT, as they swept after him.
Then the lord lifted up the deluge, his mighty weapon.
He rode in the chariot of destiny that retreats without a rival.
He stood firm and hung the four reins at its side.
—*Ibid, pp. 137, 138.*

. . . . . .

Stand up, and I and thou will fight together.
When TIAMAT heard this
she uttered her former spells, she repeated her command.
TIAMAT also cried out vehemently with a loud voice.
From its roots she strengthened (her) seat completely.
She recites an incantation, she casts a spell,
and the gods of battle demand for themselves their arms.
Then TIAMAT attacked MERODACH, the chief prophet of the gods;
in combat they joined; they met in battle.
And the lord outspread his snare (and) enclosed her.
He sent before him the evil wind to seize (her) from behind.
And TIAMAT opened her mouth to swallow it.
He made the evil wind enter so that she could not close her lips.
The violence of the winds tortured her stomach, and
her heart was prostrated and her mouth was twisted.
He swung the club, he shattered her stomach;
he cut out her entrails; he overmastered (her) heart;
he bound her and ended her life.
He threw down her corpse; he stood upon it.
When TIAMAT who marched before (them) was conquered,
he dispersed her forces, her host was overthrown,
and the gods her allies who marched beside her
trembled (and) feared (and) turned their backs.
—*Ibid, p. 140.*

(2) **Ishtar the Slayer of Men.**—Gilgames repels this unexpected declaration with a mixed feeling of contempt and apprehension; he abuses the goddess, and insolently questions her as to what has become of her mortal husbands during her long divine life. "Tammuz, the spouse of thy youth, thou hast condemned him to weep from year to year. Allala, the spotted sparrow-hawk, thou lovedst him, afterward thou didst strike him and break his wing; he continues in the wood and cries, 'O, my wings!' Thou didst afterwards love a lion of mature strength, and then didst cause him to be rent by blows, seven at a time. Thou lovedst also a stallion magnificent in the battle; thou didst devote him to death by the goad and whip; thou didst compel him to galop for ten leagues, thou didst devote him to exhaustion and thirst, thou didst devote to tears his mother Silili. Thou didst also love the shepherd Tabulu, who lavished incessantly upon thee the smoke of sacrifices, and daily slaughtered goats to thee; thou didst strike him and turn him into a leopard; his own servants went in pursuit of him, and his dogs followed his trail. Thou didst love Ishullanu, thy father's gardener, who ceaselessly brought thee presents of fruit, and decorated every day thy table. Thou raisedst thine eyes to him, thou seizedst him: 'My Ishullanu, we shall eat melons, then shalt thou stretch forth thy hand and remove that which separates us.'"—*Maspero*, "*Dawn of Civilization*," *pp. 580-81.*

17. RELIGIOUS BELIEF AND LIFE.

Every individual was protected by a particular god and goddess. He needed this protection especially against the evil spirits, an almost innumerable army of demons, that brought illness and diseases to men. (1)

At the head of these demons were placed the terrible seven *Anunnaki*, that fought against *Sin*, and that were only defeated after a heavy struggle with the mightiest of the gods. They lived in the wall of the horizon like wild horses. The demon "south-wind" was the first, a terrible panther the third, the others were also animals and winds; they were not masculine and not feminine, without wife and children. They went round in the streets to cause trouble; they entered the houses even through the smallest opening; they crept into a man's body to make him ill; they hid themselves among the cattle when driven home; they caused hatred and jealousy, and did all the evil they could.

Against them man makes a fortress of his house. He daily invokes the help of the great gods and defends his house by their images. At the top of the roof, in the fire-place, in the door, and even at a certain distance from the door the figures are placed as sentinels. In the morning and evening he offers to them nourishment and sweet drink, and asks them to keep off all that might be wrong. In case of illness, they are placed near the bed, two at the head and two at the foot.

Man is exposed to the influence of the demons when the gods are insulted. Either the protecting gods are indifferent and do not defend the man, or the gods themselves send the evil spirits as punishments for the sins.

The wrath of a god may be provoked by ritual neglects, but also by moral mistakes. When the offerings are not given or vows remain unfulfilled, the gods are insulted, but they are also insulted by sins against morality and laws. Changing of the boundary-stones, making use of false weights, stealing or commanding to steal, causing quarrels, speaking right, but doing wrong, killing the neighbor, teaching improper things, bribing in lawsuit, transgressing the limits of righteousness, eating or drinking out of unclean objects, etc., are punished, and may be the cause of a curse. It is remarkable that, except the precepts of worshiping one god and the forbidding of idol-cult, all the ten commandments have their equivalents in Babylonian religious precepts. The condition of woman in Babylonia compared unfavorably with that in Egypt. (2)

Not only do the gods send misfortune, but man also is able to do so. Some persons have "the evil eye," others know how to conjure the spirits. Though sorcery is forbidden by the gods, a number of witches bring misery by their practices. They make images of a person, and by cursing their figures, by hiding them, by burying them, by throwing them into the water, by burning them or crushing them in the street, they are sure of damaging the man himself sooner or later. (3)

In cases of illness and adversity the gods should be satisfied and the spirits expelled. This could be done by reciting long exorcisms and by symbolical acts. *Maruduk* is the great god, whose assistance purifies the sick. The symbolical acts consist in the burning of onions, meal, clothes, fruit; the conjuror asks that the sickness may be buried at the same time. The body of the sick man is wrapped in sacred cords, which are tied with a mysterious tie; the conjuror unties the magical knot and supplicates that the god may untie the band of sickness.

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17. RELIGIOUS BELIEF AND LIFE.

(1) **The Demons.**—Namtar, beloved son of Bel, children of Nin-ki-gal (queen of Hades), above they cut off, beneath they overturn the walls, they are the offspring of Hades. Above they call, beneath they shout, the poison of the gall of the gods they are. Terrible monsters, that come down from heaven, birds that shout in the towns, sons of the earth they are. High and large beams they overturn like a flood of water, from house to house they go, a door does not keep them off, a bolt does not prevent them, like serpents they steal in, like the wind they enter by the hinges of the door, they carry off the wife from the man, and the child from his mother's lap, they are all pain, they are as

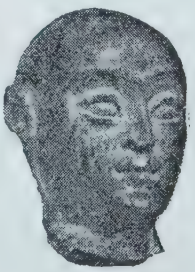
bound on a man's back.—*Rawlinson's "Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia," IV., 1. a. 5-43.*

A cloudy day, an ill-wind they are, a bad monster, a storm is going ahead, strenuous sons they are, messengers of Namtar, throne-bearers of Ninki-gal, they are like a storm blazing in the land. Seven they are in the wide heaven, seven they are on the wide earth, seven mighty gods, seven evil gods, seven bad demons, seven ill-flamed, in heaven they are seven, on earth they are seven, by the heaven they may be conjured, by the earth they may be conjured, by Bel, Belit, Ninib, Ishtar, that shines in the night, they may be conjured.

Namtar, demon that destroys the country, that causes sickness and evil in the land, that is not good for the flesh, not favorable for the body, evil demons, evil man, evil eye, evil mouth, evil tongue, go away from the man, the son of his god, go away from his body, do not approach my body, do not harm to my eye before me, do not go behind me, do not enter my house, do not pass my sills, come not into my room, by heaven and earth, by Bel and Belit, Ninib, Nushu, Sin, Ishtar, Ramman, Shamash, by the Anunnaki they may be conjured. —*Ibid, 1 a.*

The Rationale of Spiritism. — These monsters of alarming aspect, armed with knives and lances, whom the theologians of Heliopolis and Thebes confined within the caverns of Hades in the depths of eternal darkness, were believed by the Chaldæans to be let loose in broad daylight over the earth—such were the "gallu" and the "maskim," the "âlu" and the "utukku," besides a score of other demoniacal tribes bearing curious and mysterious names. Some floated in the air and presided over the unhealthy winds. The southwest wind, the most cruel of them all, stalked over the solitudes of Arabia, whence he suddenly issued during the most oppressive months of the year; he collected round him as he passed the malarial vapors given off by the marshes under the heat of the sun, and he spread them over the country, striking down in his violence not only man and beast, but destroying harvests, pasturage, and even trees. The genii of fevers and madness crept in silently everywhere, insidious and traitorous as they were. The plague alternately slumbered or made furious onslaughts among crowded populations. Imps haunted the houses, goblins wandered about the water's edge, ghouls lay in wait for travelers in unfrequented places, and the dead quitting their tombs in the night stole stealthily among the living to satiate themselves with their blood.—*G. Maspero, "The Dawn of Civilization," pp. 631-32.*

(2) **Woman in Babylonia.**—The wives of the sovereign do not seem to have been invested with that semi-sacred character which led the Egyptian women to be associated with the devotions of the man, and made them indispensable auxiliaries in all religious ceremonies; they did not, moreover, occupy that important position side by side with the man which the Egyptian law assigned to the queens of the Pharaohs. Whereas the monuments on the banks of the Nile reveal to us princesses sharing the throne of their husbands, whom they embrace with a gesture of frank affection, in Chaldæa the wives of the prince, his mother, sisters, daughters, and even his slaves, remain invisible to posterity. The harem in which they were shut up by custom, rarely opened its doors; the people seldom caught sight of them, their relatives spoke of them as little as possible, those in power avoided associating them in any public acts of worship or government, and we could count on our fingers the number of those whom the inscriptions mention by name. As the kings, who put forward no pretentions to a divine origin, were not constrained, after the fashion of the Pharaohs, to marry their sisters in order to keep up the purity of their race, it was rare to find one among their wives who possessed an equal right to the crown with themselves; such a case could be found only in troublous times, when an aspirant to the throne, of base extraction, legitimated his usurpation by marrying a sister or daughter of his predecessor. The original status of the mother almost always determined that of her children, and the sons of a princess were born princes, even if their father were of obscure or unknown origin. These princes exercised important functions at court, or they received possessions which they administered under the suzerainty of the family; the daughters were given to foreign kings, or to scions of the most distinguished families.—*Ibid, pp. 707-8.*



Head of Statuette showing obiique eyes.

Female Head.

(3) **The Curse Exorcised.**—The evil curse lies upon the man like a demon, fullness of pain rests upon him, fullness of evil rests upon him, the evil curse, the sickness. The evil curse slaughters him like an ass. His god went away from him, his goddess placed illness on him, the fullness of pain covers him like a cloth, and Maruduk looks at him. He enters the palace of his father Ea and says: Father, the evil curse is upon the man like a demon. For a second time he addresses him: This man does not know what to do, how to soften (the pain). Ea answers his son Maruduk: My son, what dost thou not know, what shall I teach thee more? Maruduk, what doest thou not know, what shall I add (to thy knowledge?) What I know, thou knowest; go, Maruduk, my son, loose his curse, break his curse, may it be a curse of his father, may it be a curse of his mother, may it be a curse of his eldest brother, may it be a curse of an unknown witch, by the conjuration of Ea the curse will be peeled like an onion, be plucked like a date. Curse, by the heaven thou mayst be exorcised, by the earth thou mayst be exorcised.

As this onion is peeled and thrown into the fire, and the fire burns it, as it will not be placed in a furrow, will not stay near water or a canal, as its root does not touch the ground, its stalk does not grow, does not see the sun, as it will not be placed on the table of a god or a king, so may the illness, that is in my body, in my flesh, in my members, be peeled like this date, on this day may the fire burn it, may it take away the curse, may I see the light. — *Rawlinson's "Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia," IV., p. 7.*

18. RELIGIOUS BELIEF AND LIFE (CONTINUED).

All uncommon events were believed to have significance. In the first place, dreams, unusual births, color of the hair, the moth in clothes, the scratching of dogs, and a thousand things more were deemed significant as to the future. Furthermore, the constellations, the eclipses of sun and moon, the rising of the planets were anxiously watched, for no doubt was entertained about the influence of these on the crops, the result of wars, etc. This belief in forecasts became the occasion of astronomical researches. Stars and gods were brought into relation by the priests. Each star represented a distinct number, and by means of those they made calculations about future events. So religious life in Babylonia and Assyria was not easy. In all circumstances the gods ought to be consulted. The king of Babylonia was not really invested with his dignity, unless he "seized the hands of *Maruduk*" at the first Zakmuku-feast of his reign. He therefore went to Esagila and led the image of *Maruduk* by the hand on his holy procession. No campaign was undertaken without consent of the gods; no house nor temple was built or repaired without numerous offerings; in the observatories on the top of the tower-temples the priests prepared reports that were sent to the king. (1)

God Nebo. *Cf.* note 2.

Sins were confessed in penitential hymns of deep religious feeling. (2) Of course, the religious ideas of the scholars and priests gradually became more developed than popular opinions, and some priests really came very near monotheism. In the eighth century B.C. one of the Assyrian governors tried to make *Nabu* the god exclusively worshiped, but ended in failure, as the people could not appreciate his feelings. In another case a number of gods are regarded as manifestations of the one *Maruduk;* and the lists of gods prove that systems of identification of gods were taught in the schools of the priests. But all this was mere scholarship, and not living religion.

The gods were conceived as human beings, animals, or animals with human faces. Only a part of their being was thought to be united with their images. In the mythological literature much is spoken of them that seems to us disrespectful. The gods became anxious on account of the waters of the deluge; like frightened dogs they go to the heaven of *Anu;* like flies they come to the offering of the Babylonian Noah; and *Gilgamesh* addresses *Ishtar* very disrespectfully.

The Babylonians believed in a life after death, but not in what we call the resurrection and immortality of the soul. The deceased was buried and placed in a tomb, where he was provided with fruits, wine, oil, etc. His shade is supposed to rest here for a time and then is transported to Hades, the kingdom of *Nergal* and of *Allatu*, queen of death. In other cases the corpse was burned and the remains placed in a jar of clay. Hades is surrounded by seven walls, and by a river. The shades live there in darkness and misery, and no evidence is forthcoming as to any difference between the destinies of good and bad.

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18. RELIGIOUS BELIEF AND LIFE (CONTINUED).

(1) **Astrology.**—All these discoveries, which constitute in our eyes the scientific patrimony of the Chaldæans, were regarded by themselves as the least important results of their investigations. Did they not know, thanks to these investigations, that the stars shone for other purposes than to lighten up the nights—to rule, in fact, the destinies of men and kings, and, in ruling that of kings, to determine the fortunes of empires? Their earliest astronomers, by their assiduous contemplation of the nightly heavens, had come to the conclusion

that the vicissitudes of the heavenly bodies were in fixed relations with mundane phenomena and events. If Mercury, for instance, displayed an unusual brilliancy at his rising, and his disk appeared as a two-edged sword, riches and abundance, due to the position of the luminous halo which surrounded him, would be scattered over Chaldæa, while discords would cease therein, and justice would triumph over iniquity. The first observer who was struck by this coincidence noted it down; his successors confirmed his observations, and at length deduced, in the process of the years, from their accumulated knowledge, a general law. Henceforward, each time that Mercury assumed this same aspect it was of favorable augury, and kings and their subjects became the recipients of his bounty. As long as he maintained this appearance no foreign ruler could install himself in Chaldæa, tyranny would be divided against itself, equity would prevail, and a strong monarch bear sway; while the landholders and the king would be confirmed in their privileges, and obedience, together with tranquility, would rule everywhere in the land. The number of these observations increased to such a degree that it was found necessary to classify them methodically to avoid confusion. Tables of them were drawn up, in which the reader could see at one and the same moment the aspect of the heavens on such and such a night and hour, and the corresponding events either then happening, or about to happen, in Chaldæa, Syria, or some foreign land. If, for instance, the moon displayed the same appearance on the 1st and 27th of the month, Elam was threatened; but "if the sun, at his setting, appears double his usual size, with three groups of bluish rays, the king of Chaldæa is ruined." To the indications of the heavenly bodies, the Chaldæans added the portents which could be deduced from atmospheric phenomena: if it thundered on the 27th of Tammuz, the wheat-harvest would be excellent and the produce of the ears magnificent; but if this should occur six days later, that is, on the 2d of Abu, floods and rains were to be apprehended in a short time, together with the death of the king and the division of his empire. It was not for nothing that the sun and moon surrounded themselves in the evening with blood-red vapors or veiled themselves in dark clouds; that they grew suddenly pale or red after having been intensely bright; that unexpected fires blazed out on the confines of the air, and that on certain nights the stars seemed to have become detached from the firmament and to be falling upon the earth. These prodigies were so many warnings granted by the gods to the people and their kings before great crises in human affairs; the astronomer investigated and interpreted them, and his predictions had a greater influence than we are prepared to believe upon the fortunes of individuals and even of states. The rulers consulted and imposed upon the astronomers the duty of selecting the most favorable moment for the execution of the projects they had in view.—*Masperô*, "*Dawn of Civilization*," *pp. 778–9.*

(2) Penitential Hymn.

. . . I confess to thee, NEBO, in the assembly of the great gods:
. . . my sins, my soul is not subdued:
. . . NINEVEH, I make my prayer unto thee, warrior of the gods, his brothers:
. . . the life of Assur-bani-pal for a long time, hereafter:
. . . I prostrate myself at the foot of NEBO:
. . . NEBO, in the whole multitude of my sins.
I will cause thee to live, Assur-bani-pal, even I, NEBO, to everlasting days:
Thy feet shall not be weary, thy hands shall not tremble:
These thy lips shall not fail for praying to me:
Thy tongue shall not be put out from thy lips,
For I goodly speech will bestow upon thee:
I will go forward as thy head, I will make thy body to go forward in the house of E-BARBAR.
NEBO spake thus: Thy mouth utters good things, which have been offered in prayer to URKITTU:
Thy body which I made has been brought before me in supplication, according to her appointment in E-BARBAR:
The destiny which I formed has been brought before me in supplication,
Thus:—May he have a reward in the house of the Queen of the Universe!
Thy life has been brought before me in supplication thus:—His life do thou prolong [even the life] of Assur-bani-pal!
Bowing down in his sanctuary Assur-bani-pal made his prayer to NEBO his lord:
I have given myself unto thee, NEBO, thou wilt not forsake me [even], me:
My life in thy presence is governed, my soul is held in the embrace of BELTIS:
I have given myself unto thee, NEBO [thou] mighty one, thou wilt not forsake me, even me, in the midst of my sins.
There answered a breath from the presence of NEBO his lord:—
Fear not, Assur-bani-pal, long life will I give unto thee:
Fair winds from thy life will I appoint:
My mouth speaking that which is good shall cause thy prayer to be heard in the assembly of the great gods.

REVERSE.

Assur-bani-pal confessed his misdeeds: he made his prayer unto NEBO his lord:
What he took at the feet of the queen of NINEVEH he did not conceal in the assemby of the great gods:
That which with the reed of URKITTU is acquired he did not conceal [even] in the whole multitude of his sins:
In the whole multitude of my offences thou wilt not forsake me, NEBO:
In the whole multitude of my woes thou wilt not forsake my soul.
Small wert thou, Assur-bani-pal, when I gave you over to [the care of] the Queen of NINEVEH:
A suckling wert thou, Assur-bani-pal, when I satisfied thee on the lap of the Queen of NINEVEH:
The full streams of milk which unto thy mouth are given twain thou suckest, twain thou drawest into thy mouth:
Thy sins, Assur-bani-pal, like ripples on the face of water shall they be:
Like sandhills (?) which on the face of the earth are piled up shall they be dispersed before thy feet:
Thou shalt stand, Assur-bani-pal, in the presence of the great gods: thou shalt magnify NEBO.

—"*Records of the Past*," *New Series, Vol. VI., pp. 104-106.*

THIRD WEEKLY REVIEW.

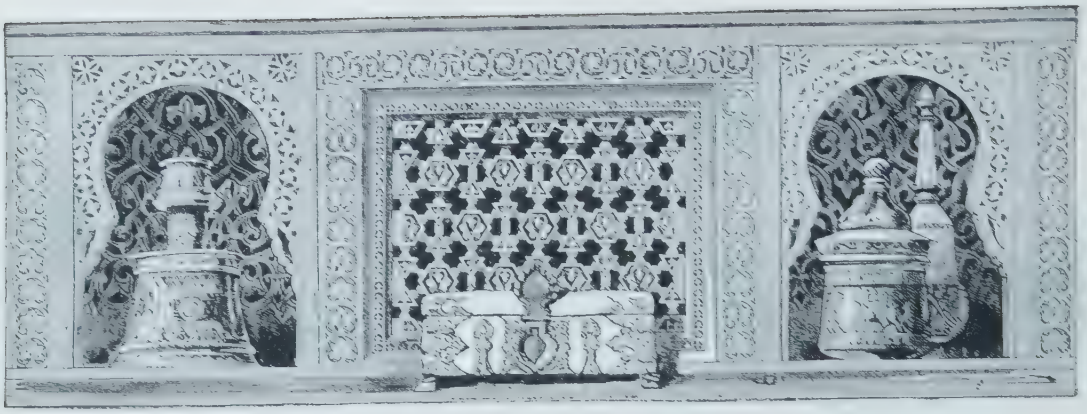
13. **SOURCES. ORIGIN OF THE PANTHEON.**—Excavations, University of Pennsylvania at Nippur, Small kingdoms, Sumerians, Semites, Analogy of religious history, Relationing.
14. **GODS. (LOCAL CULTS. THE PANTHEON.)**—Anu, Bel, Ea, Sin, Shamash, Ishtar, Ramman, Maruduk, Ashur, Minor deities.
15. **TEMPLES, PRIESTS, OFFERINGS.**—Ziggurat, Temple, Priests, Their functions and revenues, Sacrifice, Essence, Ishtar, Sabbaths, Zagmuku, Tammuz.
16. **MYTHOLOGY.**—Maruduk and Tiamat, Ishtar, Tammuz, Hades, Return, Gilgamesh, Eabani, Tsit, Napishtim, The flood, Nergal.
17. **RELIGIOUS BELIEF AND LIFE.**—Anunnaki, House fortification, Wrath from ritual or moral transgression, Ten commandments, Evil eye, Sorcery, Exorcism, Symbolic magic.
18. **RELIGIOUS BELIEF AND LIFE (CONTINUED.)**—Omens, Astrology, Penitential hymns, Monotheism, Gods frightened, greedy, or lustful, Tomb, Hades.

QUESTIONS.

13. *What are the sources of our knowledge here? Since when discovered? What was the political condition of Babylonia at the earliest known time? When did Semites arrive here? Name the two great capitals. How was religion related to these conditions? How was union effected?*
14. *Name and describe the first triad of gods. Do the same for the second. To what god does Ramman correspond? Describe Maruduk. Describe Ashur. Instance some minor deities (demons).*
15. *What was the Ziggurat? Relate the functions of the priests. What offerings were made, and how could the gods partake of them? What days were sacred? Describe the New Year's festival at Babylon. Describe that in honor of Tammuz.*
16. *Relate the myth of Maruduk and Tiamat. Relate that of Ishtar. Relate that of Gilgamesh.*
17. *Why did each person need a patron deity? Who were the Anunnaki? How did man fortify his house? How can the gods be offended? Specify some moral offences. Describe some mischievous sorcery (magic). How can sickness be removed?*
18. *State the various omens. Give the substance of a penitential hymn. How were the gods unified? Describe the life after death.*

SUBJECTS FOR SPECIAL STUDY.

1. *Recall other cases of the influence of political upon religious conditions.*
2. *Recall other divine triads in Sinism, Vedism, Hinduism, and Buddhism.*
3. *On the especial cult of Ishtar, consult further Maspero's "Dawn of Civilization," or "Herodotus," I., p. 199.*
4. *Compare with the Ishtar myth, that recorded pp. 326-7.*
5. *Inquire in your neighborhood for cases of magic.*
6. *Search for other cases, besides that of astrology and astronomy, where religion has contributed to science.*



ISLAMISM.

BY

MORRIS JASTROW, Jr., Ph.D., Professor of Semitic Languages at the University of Pennsylvania.

19. ARABIAN RELIGION BEFORE MOHAMMED.

THE closing half of the seventh century marks the beginning of one of the greatest revolutionary movements in history. As by a turn of the hand, the particles of glass in a kaleidoscope shift their position, and through a changed combination a different picture is projected on the background, so the total aspect of Europe and the greater part of Asia underwent a sudden transformation. Mighty thrones were shaken in their foundations, old empires tottered and fell, ancient cultures were swept away, and it seemed as though a time had arrived of which an ancient prophet had spoken, when the nations of the earth were to be shaken, as "one shakes grain in a sieve." A tidal wave threatening to engulf the entire occidental civilization swept over the earth; and when the waters receded, it was evident that a new world had appeared to take the place of a destroyed one—a new world with new forces, new leaders, and a new goal. The new world was Mohammedanism, the new forces Mohammed and the Koran, the new leaders the Arabs, and the new goal the conversion of the world into a vast mosque, wherein there was to resound from one end to the other the cry: "There is no god but Allah, and Mohammed is his prophet."

When the curtain of history first rises to disclose to our view the peninsula of Arabia, we find in Arabia the same two classes of inhabitants which still divide it today, the Bedâwi, or Bedouin (as we commonly say), and the "Ahl el-medr," the people of fixed abodes.

Of the districts where permanent settlements had been made, the oldest, so far as we know, was the province of Yemen. It is at all events in the southwestern corner of the peninsula that Arabic civilization takes its rise. Here, as early at least as the tenth century before our era, there flourished a kingdom of no inconsiderable power and extent, which attained a high degree of culture. This Sabaean kingdom, as it is generally known, seems to have exercised at one time a supremacy over a large portion of Arabia, and it is more than likely that its monarchs in the hey-day of their rule reached out to the Abessynian coast, and on the other hand came also into contact with the Babylonian empire.

Before the Sabaean kingdom passed away, it had left its impress upon the most remote parts of the peninsula. Steady streams of Yemenitic emigrants were sent in various directions. Passing into the province of Hedjaz, permanent settlements

were made there. Other offshoots proceeded still further north, where two important border states were founded, that of Ghassan, on the edge of the Syrian desert, and that of Hira, at the northeastern extremity of Arabia and embracing parts of southern Mesopotamia. But wherever the Yemenites came, they found the country already well filled with a people, which, although a closely-related branch of the same great Semitic race, yet differed considerably from them in manners and customs, and occupied a much lower grade in the scale of civilization. A recent writer tersely describes this northern race "as less susceptible of culture, but gifted with greater energy and concentration of purpose than their southern cousins."

It would be a mistake, however, to throw all these northern and central tribes into one heap. Long before the days of Mohammed, there had developed, under the influence in part of the example of the higher culture furnished by the south, all the variations existing between semi-barbarous manners with thoroughly nomadic conditions and a close approach to the milder conditions of settled abodes. The caravan stations lying along the route leading from Yemen to Syria acted as natural centers around which villages grew up. We find the northern Arabs disputing with the Yemenites who poured into Hedjaz the possession of the soil as well as the right of sovereignty. The power of the northern tribes steadily increased until in the fifth century of this era, under a leader whom tradition calls Koleib, with the aid of a powerful coalition, they threw off entirely the hated Yemenitic yoke. The topography of Arabia about this time also begins to assume a more definite character. There is no longer so frequent a shifting of positions among the tribes as formerly, and while the differentiating process among the tribes goes on uninterruptedly, leading to further and smaller sub-divisions, certain well-defined groups, advancing more and more into the foreground, enable us to obtain a general grasp of the situation. Foremost among those groups stand the sister-clans of Bekr and Taglib, the former with its seat in the northeastern corner of Arabia, the latter, after much shifting about, established on the banks of the Euphrates in southern Mesopotamia. An almost equally prominent position is occupied by the group of the Hawazin in the Nedjd. The Hodheilites, whose territory lay to the east of Mecca, acquired high renown on account of the excellence of their poets and the bravery of their warriors. Somewhat to the north, occupying an intermediate position between the Hawazin and the Hodheilites, was the clan of Soleim, while in the extreme north of the Nedjd lived the powerful groups of Assad. To the south of Bekr was another large group known as Abdelkais. There was no bond of union among these groups, unless the consciousness of a common descent which never died out may be called such a bond. Each group was a law unto itself, and as each group guarded its independence with the utmost jealousy, it was only in the face of common danger that a temporary coalition with others took place, or when the overweaning growth of one division threatened a disturbance of the equilibrium of power. The free existence led by these tribes and the constant dangers to which they were exposed, produced a species of valor that contained a strong admixture of true nobility of heart. A high sense of honor acted as a check to cruel instincts. Ancestral pride made the Arab slow to forgive wrongs, but once the insult was wiped out, the generous side of his nature was shown in his dealings with those to whom he was bound by compact or gratitude. The strength of Islamism lay in its ability to form a combination between the loosely organized tribes and the townspeople. Previous to the days of Mohammed, the two classes met only on the occasion of the great fairs, which from an early period became a marked feature in Arabia. At these fairs—devoted primarily to barter and exchange—the Arabs gathered together from all parts. The poets vied with one another in celebrating the exploits of the clan to which they belonged. During the fairs, hostilities ceased, and frequently at these gatherings long-standing feuds between tribes or clans were amicably settled. The fairs, more than anything else, served to keep alive the

feeling of a common bond between the tribes, as also between the townspeople and those who were ordinarily removed from the influences that affected those who lived in the towns.

In religious customs, likewise, the differences between the two classes became accentuated in the course of time. In the life of the Northern Arab, religion did not play an important role prior to the days of Mohammed. The country abounded in sacred objects—holy stones and trees. Each tribe had some protecting deity. The fellowship between the members of the tribe and the deity was expressed by a common meal, shared on certain occasions, as a means of establishing the compact between the two parties. There appears to have been some kind of a festival celebrated in the spring in connection with the beginning of the summer season; and the appearance of the new moon was welcomed with certain formulas and shouts,

Mecca and its Mosque, and the Kaaba inside that.

indicative of joy at the return of the lost planet. A special class of the population was formed by the *Kahane*, the workers of magic, who by virtue of a closer relationship with the gods could consult the latter directly; but it is important to bear in mind that the religion of ancient Arabia is entirely dissociated from fixed ritual, daily worship, or indeed any regular cult. In the towns, however, the influence of the systematized pantheon and cult of southern Arabia, and at a later period of Christianity, under certain forms, and of a Judaism of a rather inferior type, produced considerable changes in the old religion. In Mecca and Medina (or Yathrib, as it was known before the days of Mohammed), special importance came to be attached to certain gods. It became customary to pay visits at regular intervals to places sacred to them. In Mecca, more particularly, a famous stone sacred to a god *Allah* grew to be a favorite object of devotion. A sanctuary was erected near the stone (or perhaps around the stone), and the guardianship of this sanctuary

became vested in certain families. Moreover, the presence of Jews and Christians in Mecca, Medina and Kheibar (not to speak of southern Arabia and Syria) brought about changed conceptions with regard to the ancient gods of Arabia, and while direct traces of the influence of these two faiths in the Arabs are not as numerous as we might have reason to expect, the indirect influence can hardly be exaggerated as a factor in accounting for the rise of Islam.

19. ARABIAN RELIGION BEFORE MOHAMMED.

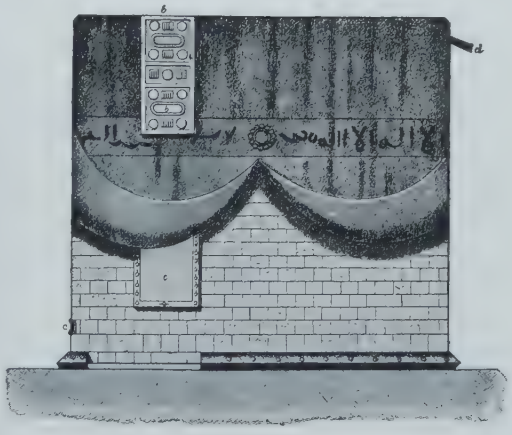
(1) **Early Arabic Poetry.**—To add by his prowess or his hospitality or his eloquence to the glory of the clan was the Arab's ambition.

A mountain (*i. e.* the glory of the clan) we have
where dwells he whom we shelter there,
lofty, before whose height the eye falls back
blunted:
Deep-based is its root below ground, and overhead
there soars
its peak to the stars of heaven whereto no man
reaches.
A folk are we who deem it no shame to be slain in
fight,
though that be the deeming thereof of Salūl and
'Amir;
Our love of death brings near to us our days of
doom,
but their dooms shrink from death and stand
far distant.
There dies among us no lord a quiet death in his
bed,
and never is blood of us poured forth without
vengeance.
Our souls stream forth in a flood from the edge of
the whetted swords:
no otherwise than so does our spirit leave its
mansion.
Pure is our stock, unsullied; fair is it kept and
bright
by mothers whose bed bears well, and fathers
mighty.
To the best of the uplands we wend, and when the
season comes
we travel adown to the best of fruitful valleys.
Like rain of the heaven are we; there is not in all
our line
one blunt of heart, nor among us is counted a
niggard.
We say nay when so we will to the words of other
men,
but no man to us says nay when we give sentence.
When passes a lord of our line, in his stead there
rises straight
a lord to say the say and do the deeds of the
noble.
Our beacon is never quenched to the wanderer of
the night,
nor has ever a guest blamed us where men meet
together.
Our days (battles) are famous among our foemen,
of fair report,
branded and blazed with glory like noble horses.
Our swords have swept throughout all lands both
west and east
and gathered many a notch from the steel of
hauberk-wearers;
Not used are they when drawn to be laid back in
their sheaths
before that the folk they meet are spoiled and
scattered.

. . . . . .

And since his fiery temper easily took offence, the history of the early Arabs is full of the traditions of slight quarrels and their horrible results—secret assassination and the long-lasting blood-feud.

Many the warriors, noon journeying, who, when
night fell, journeyed on and halted at dawning—
Keen each one of them, girt with a keen blade
that when one drew it flashed forth like the
lightning—
They were tasting of sleep by sips, when, as



The Kaaba with its covering lifted. *a* = The sacred stone. *b*= Ornamental curtain for the door. *c* = the door. *d* = spout. The legend runs: "There is no god but Allah, and Mohammed is the apostle of Allah."

they nodded, thou didst fright them, and they
were scattered.
Vengeance we did on them: they escaped us
of the two houses none but the fewest.
And if Hudheyl broke the edge of his sword-
blade—
Many the notch that Hudheyl gained from him!
Many the time that he made them kneel down on
jagged rocks where the hoof is worn with
running!
Many the morning he fell on their shelter,
and after slaughter came plunder and spoiling!

. . . . . .

To Hudheyl we gave to drink Death's goblet,
whose dregs are disgrace and shame and dis-
honor.
The hyena laughs over the slain of Hudheyl, and
the wolf—see thou—grins by their corpses,
And the vultures flap their wings, full-bellied
treading their dead, too gorged to leave them.

—*S. Lane-Poole*, "*Studies in a Mosque*," *pp. 5-6, 8-9.*

20. MOHAMMED.

In the year 570 A.D., there was born at Mecca the man who was to be the means of establishing a permanent social and political bond among all Arabs. Mohammed, the son of Abdallah, is not merely the founder of a religion, he is the creator of the Arabic nation as well; and unless he had also succeeded in establishing a state, his religious preaching would not have left an indelible impress upon the history of the world. Until Mohammed reached about his fortieth year, there is nothing in his career which gives evidence of unusual ability. He belonged to the family of Koreish, which, some generations before Mohammed, had succeeded in obtaining control of the sanctuary at Mecca, known, from its dice-like shape, as the Kaaba. Mohammed himself had no direct connection with the sanctuary. He gained a livelihood by attaching himself to the caravans that passed through Mecca, on their road from Yemen to Syria. Entering the service of a widow in good circumstances, Khadidja, as a kind of business agent, he subsequently married her, and continued his mercantile pursuits. The general testimony is given to him of being a domestic man, of a kindly disposition, and upright in his dealings. His journeys brought him into contact with Jews and Christians. Their practices, and what he heard from them with regard to their religious beliefs, aroused his interest. In recognizing, as in the course of time he did, the insufficiency of the ancient Arabic beliefs and customs, he was but a child of his age, for there is abundant evidence that in the towns a disintegrating religious process had begun several generations before Mohammed. The more thoughtful persons had secretly or openly cut loose from the practices of their ancestors. Some had even joined the Jewish or the Christian church, while others held aloof from all religious associations. The latter were opprobriously termed *Hanîfs*, "Heretics." To them Mohammed felt strongly attracted; and when, as an outcome of his religious struggles, he declared himself to be "neither a Jew nor a Christian," he was naturally regarded as a Hanîf.

It was about the year 610, that he first appears in public with the pretense of having been sent by *Allah* with a message to his people. It was this claim more than what he said that aroused opposition to him. Some regarded him as insane, others as an audacious and dangerous personage. The message itself which he claims to have received is neither startling nor revolutionary. Its essence consists in a call upon all people to worship only one god. The name that he chooses for god—*Allah*—was in use before the days of Mohammed. The Kaaba was known as the "House of *Allah*," and it was the *implication* involved in the call, that there was no other god besides *Allah*, that alone could have been distasteful to Mohammed's fellows.

The interest in Mohammed's career up to this point lies entirely in the study of his personality. He was a man without education. If he could read or write, it is quite certain that he never availed himself of these accomplishments. It is said that he used to betake himself to a cave in the mountain Hira, on the outskirts of Mecca, in order to meditate in solitude; and it was on one of these occasions that the first revelation came to him. If we question Mohammed's sincerity at this moment, we set aside the only means at our command for understanding the birth and spread of Islam. Mohammed had nothing to gain and everything to lose by deception.

His revelation merely confirmed him in the belief which, after severe torments of soul he had reached, that everything in the universe—man and nature, the sun, moon, and stars—was produced by a single power. The influence of Judaism and Christianity is clearly apparent in this doctrine, as also in the conviction, confirmed by his revelation, that he was a divinely sent prophet of *Allah*, as Abraham, Moses, and Jesus were before him. To reconcile the differences existing between the Jews and Christians, Mohammed declared that he was a follower of Abraham, and he changed

the sting of the term Hanif, by declaring that Abraham, being neither a Jew nor a Christian, was in reality a Hanîf.

Mohammed's appearance in public for some years attracted little attention. While the implication of his monotheistic doctrine may not have been looked upon with favor, there was no reason for interfering with him, as long as his talk did not disturb social conditions. His wife, the members of his household, and some influential citizens of Mecca accepted Mohammed's claim of being inspired. Mohammed and his followers continued to pay their respects to the Kaaba, and it was only as the group threatened to assume the character and dimensions of a "clique"—to use the modern phrase—leading to dissensions among the members of the Koreish family, that an opposition to Mohammed began to develop. Some of the influential members of the Meccan humanity—notably Mohammed's uncle, Abu-Tâlib—endeavored to dissuade Mohammed from increasing the fomentation; but the prophet had proceeded too far to abandon what he now regarded as the one object of his life—to preach the power and greatness of *Allah*. In time, he became bolder, and attacked religious practices that were regarded as a precious heritage. Stronger attempts were now made to silence Mohammed, but such efforts only widened the breach that separated him and his followers from the Meccans. Finally, things came to such a pass that it was hardly safe for Mohammed to remain in his native town. Meanwhile reports of his teachings had spread to Yathrib, and much interest was felt in him at that place. Whatever the reasons may have been for this attitude of the Yathribites, Mohammed availed himself of the opportunities presented for a more favorable field for his labors, and, together with his followers, he left Mecca for Yathrib in the year 622. The departure, rendered advisable by circumstances, was called—probably by his opponents—the *Hidjra* or "flight" of Mohammed. It is from this event that the Mohammedans date the era still used by them.

Mohammed's change of residence from Mecca to Yathrib, which was soon to become known as medinet el-nabi, "the city of the prophet," or, more briefly, Medina, emphasizes the social character of the movement that he inaugurates. Those who joined Mohammed at Medina are significantly known as his "helpers." They formed a small army, of which Mohammed became the leader. The ultimate object in view was the conquest of Mecca, and before he died, Mohammed had the satisfaction—only seven years after his flight—of seeing Mecca yield to him, almost without a struggle. During the interval, several minor encounters take place between the forces of Mohammed and the Meccans. The outcome was generally favorable to Mohammed, so that, when the end of the struggle came, it was generally recognized that a new age was dawning for Arabia. Mohammed's success as a political leader led many to his side who had but little interest in his religious doctrines. The time seemed ripe for a movement uniting the Arabic tribes, and Mohammed was in a real sense "a man of destiny." He had that natural power of attracting followers which is a certain indication of greatness. Before he died, his emissaries had proceeded to various parts of the Arabian peninsula, calling upon the tribes to adopt the standard of Mohammed and *Allah*. *Allah* had shown himself to be a powerful god by the assistance he granted Mohammed. To acknowledge Mohammed as a messenger of *Allah* involved no departure from ancient rites; and since Mohammed kept many of the practices of his fathers—notably the pilgrimage to the Kaaba—the opposition between the old and the new faith was not clearly manifest. True, he imposed religious obligations that were new; but those that were irksome, as *e.g.* daily prayers, the Bedouins simply ignored. Shortly before his death, which took place at Medina, in the summer of 632, Mohammed paid a farwell visit to the sanctuary at Kaaba, and thus sealed the bond that united him to the past. When death overtook him, he was occupied with the ambitious plan of spreading beyond the confines of Arabia, his doctrine of one god, with Mohammed as the last of the messengers. This work was taken up by his trusted lieutenants—notably by Omar.

21. THE KORAN.

Mohammed was essentially a preacher, if ever there was one; and he was wont to describe himself as such—as one who was sent to "warn" men. The political revolutions and the social reforms which accompany and in so large measure control the movement that he inaugurates are due to the circumstances of his age. As a social reformer and political leader, he was but the instrument of fate. In his preaching, however, his own personality manifests itself.

His utterances were at first brief. They impress one like telegraphic messages—sharp and decisive, and implying much more than they actually express. This character of his early utterances is due to the mental excitement under which they were produced. They reflect his internal struggles. He ponders over the mysteries of the universe, he racks his brain for a solution, a flood of thoughts rushes in upon him, and the result is a string of disconnected and sometimes incoherent sentences. He is utterly unable, by his nature and by his lack of education, to formulate a system of thought. He sees the truth, but his emotions, as strong as his intellect, prompt him to outbursts, instead of to exposition. The burden of his early messages is always the same—the absolute oneness of *Allah*, his power, his kindness to mankind, his readiness to forgive, and the impossibility of salvation outside of belief in him, and devotion to him.

In the course of time, as adherents flocks to his side, Mohammed's utterances become more elaborate. Personal circumstances mingle with his revelations. He replies to the objections raised against his claim of being a messenger of *Allah*. He is taunted with being a poet, and in strong terms he declares the reality of the messages that he receives. When the growth of his party leads to more serious attacks, he denounces his enemies, threatening them with the tortures of hell. He introduces arguments to convince his hearers of the correctness of his religious views. Another important change becomes manifest in his utterances when he removes to Medina. Attached with all the fervency of the Arabic nature to his native place, he felt the humiliation involved in being obliged to leave Mecca. He was sent primarily to warn his people, the Koreish. If they rejected him, how could he hope to reach others, and, above all, how could he reconcile his defeat with the power of *Allah*, who had sent him? While the change in the scene of his labors gave Mohammed a wider horizon, the consciousness of this did not dawn upon him at first. His mind was occupied with thoughts of Mecca. He becomes a political leader *malgrè lui*, and his utterances in Medina take on in consequence a decidedly secular character. His revelations became the *ordres du jour* of a general. The weaker sides of his nature are brought into the foreground. His vanity is touched by the growing number of his adherents. He seeks to hold them by entertaining them. The Arabs, ever fond of listening to tales, were delighted with the recitals of Mohammed regarding Noah, Abraham, Joseph, Moses, Jonah, and Jesus. These were new stories to them. He tells them of Arabic prophets also who were sent to warn their people. Mohammed adds details of his own invention, and, never having read the Old or the New Testament, when he does not invent he distorts the Biblical tales so horribly at times, as to make one doubt whether he understood the Jews and Christians from whose lips he had heard the stories. The credit, however, must be given Mohammed that he never leaves out of view the main purpose of his declarations. He never fails to draw the lesson from the tales with which he regales his hearers. Like a true preacher, he avails himself of the interest he arouses in his audience, by dropping the thread of the narrative at a dramatic point and interspersing reflections upon *Allah's* motives, upon his mercy, and the protection he affords to those who cling to him. Mohammed's last word to his people is the same as his first: "*Allah*—there is none but *Allah*. Serve ye *Allah*." These words constitute his last testimony. He leaves the state that he by the accident of circumstances founds without a suc-

cessor. In vain do his lieutenants urge him to appoint someone who might lead the nation that he creates into the promised land of glory and conquest. Mohammed dies—as he lived—a preacher.

The utterances of Mohammed during the several periods of his public career were gathered together within a few years after his death. The collection became known as the Korân; Mohammed himself applies this word to his utterances. Korân may be approximately rendered "recitation"; and since Mohammed claims that what he utters is the revelation made to him by *Allah* through the angel Gabriel, the appropriateness of calling his addresses a recitation will be apparent. The Ḳorân is divided into one hundred and forty-four chapters known as Suras, that is, divisions. The authority of the collection is vouched for by the fact of its compilation during the lifetime of those who followed the career of the prophet from the beginning to the end—not that the Korân contains all of the public utterances of Mohammed, but what it contains is stamped with his personality. No doubt many of Mohammed's speeches are lost, for no special means were taken during the early years of his public career to preserve them. At the same time, oral tradition is tolerably trustworthy among a people accustomed to preserve in this way lengthy poetic compositions for many generations. Exactly from what time on Mohammed engaged the services of a secretary to take down his speeches, is not known, but there is no reason to question the tradition that he had one during his sojourn in Medina. Certainly his later utterances are better and more fully preserved than the earlier ones. Of the one hundred and fourteen Suras, it is true ninety are assigned to the Meccan period and only twenty-four to the sojourn in Medina; but the latter are about the only ones that can be dignified by the name of speeches; the former with few exceptions are merely sporadic sayings, bearing clearly the traces of being the more memorable extracts which impressed themselves upon the minds of his hearers; and while, as has been pointed out, at the outset of his career he confined himself to short messages, the custom of more elaborate addresses was inaugurated sometime before he left his native city. It must be remembered, too, that many of the larger Suras and some also of the shorter ones are really composite productions, made up of two or more speeches. Great care was taken to secure general consent to the authenticity of the collection. Abu-Bekr, who was recognized as the leader upon the death of Mohammed, entrusted Mohammed's secretary, Zaid ibu Thâbin, with the task of gathering the prophet's speeches. Differences of opinion having arisen among the intimates of the prophet as to what he said, a revised version was prepared at the instigation of the caliph Othman about the year 640, who engaged the same Zaid and several other authorities for the work. This version was declared to be authentic, and such copies as differed were sought out, so far as possible, and burned.

The arrangement of the Suras is peculiar. In general, the longer ones were placed at the beginning of the collection, the shorter ones at the end. What the motives of the collections were in adopting such a method, we do not know. It happens, therefore, that the addresses made at Medina, which are the later ones, are found in the first part of the Korân, while the earliest Suras are at the end. An exception is formed by the first Sura—the Doxology of Islam—which is still recited at the beginning of every religious service in Mohammedan countries. To determine the chronological order (which is manifestly of the utmost importance), we must be guided by the contents of the Suras, together with abundant though not always reliable traditions of the circumstances under which the utterances were made. Titles were assigned to each Sura, some chosen from a subject introduced, others from a catch word that appeared in the Sura in question. No great importance is to be attached to these titles. The style of the Korân varies. The shorter Suras and frequently passages in the long Suras are couched in a rhymed prose, and it is of importance to note that the *Kahane* (the magic workers of ancient Arabia) gave forth their oracles in this same style. The finest, the most poetic, and the most

solemn passages in the Korân are written in this manner. When Mohammed enters upon an elaboration of his views, his style changes. Often it is vivid, but in general it is dull, in consequence of prolixity and frequent repetitions of certain set phrases. He spins his stories out too long, and the frequent exclamations and digressions make the Korân tiresome reading, though all the more effective for recitation. It is necessary, indeed, to hear the Korân read to judge of its effect and to account for the influence it has exerted; and to read the Korân properly is an art in which but few acquire expertness. For us, its value lies chiefly as an expression of Mohammed's personality, and as the foundation upon which the great structure of Islamic theology was reared by the generations that followed upon the prophet.

21. THE KORAN.

The Chapter of Congealed Blood.—(The first five verses of this sura, No. 96, are generally supposed to form the oldest revelation to Mohammed contained in the Korân. The ninth verse arraigns Abu Jahl, who threatened to set his foot on Mohammed's neck, if he caught him in the act of adoration.)

In the name of the merciful and compassionate God.

READ, in the name of thy Lord!
Who created man from congealed blood!
Read, for thy Lord is most generous!
Who taught the pen!
Taught man what he did not know!
Nay, verily, man is indeed outrageous at seeing himself get rich!
Verily, unto thy Lord is the return!
Hast thou considered him who forbids a servant when he prays?
Hast thou considered if he were in guidance or bade piety?
Hast thou considered if he said it was a lie, and turned his back?
Did he not know that God can see?
Nay, surely, if he do not desist we will drag him by the forelock!—the lying, sinful forelock!
So let him call his counsel: we will call the guards of hell!
Nay, obey him not, but adore and draw nigh!—*"Sacred Books of the East," Vol. IX., pp. 336-7.*

The Opening Chapter.—(This sura, No. 1, is the one most frequently recited, and perhaps the most famous.)

In the name of the merciful and compassionate God.

Praise belongs to God, the Lord of the worlds, the merciful, the compassionate, the ruler of the day of judgment! Thee we serve and Thee we ask for aid. Guide us in the right path, the path of those Thou art gracious to; not of those Thou art wroth with; nor of those who err.—*Ibid, Vol. VI., p. 1.*

The Chapter of Unity.—(This sura, No. 112, declares God's unity.)

In the name of the merciful and compassionate God.

Say, "He is God alone!
God the Eternal!
He begets not and is not begotten!
Nor is there like unto Him anyone!"—*Ibid, Vol. IX., p. 344.*

The Chapter of the Koreish.—(This sura, No. 106, illustrates Mohammed's interest in his own family.)

In the name of the merciful and compassionate God.

For the uniting of the Koreish; uniting them for the caravan of winter and summer.

So let them serve the Lord of this house who feeds them against hunger and makes them safe against fear.—*Ibid, Vol. IX., p. 342.*

The Chapter of the Heifer.—(This selection from the 2d sura is one of the finest passages in the Korân.)

Verily, those who misbelieve, it is the same to them if ye warn them or if ye warn them not, they will not believe. God has set a seal upon their hearts and on their hearing; and on their eyes is dimness, and for them is grievous woe. And there are those among men who say, "We believe in God and in the last day;" but they do not believe. They would deceive God and those who do believe; but they deceive only themselves and they do not perceive. In their hearts is a sickness, and God has made them still more sick, and for them is grievous woe because they lied. And when it is said to them, "Do not evil in the earth," they say, "We do but what is right." Are not they the evildoers? and yet they do not perceive. And when it is said to them, "Believe as other men believe," they say, "Shall we believe as fools believe?" Are not they themselves the fools? and yet they do not know. And when they meet those who believe, they say, "We do believe;" but when they go aside with their devils, they say, "We are with you; we were but mocking!" God shall mock at them and let them go on in their rebellion, blindly wandering on.

Those who buy error for guidance, their traffic profits not, and they are not guided. Their likeness is as the likeness of one who kindles a fire; and when it lights up all around, God goes off with their light, and leaves them in darkness that they cannot see. Deafness, dumbness, blindness, and they shall not return! Or like a storm-cloud from the sky, wherein is darkness and thunder and lightning; they put their fingers in their ears at the thunder-clap, for fear of death, for God encompasses the misbelievers. The lightning well-nigh snatches off their sight, whenever it shines for them they walk therein; but when it is dark for them they halt; and if God willed He would go off with their hearing and their sight; verily, God is mighty over all.

O ye folk! serve your Lord who created you and those before you; haply ye may fear! who made the earth for you a bed and the heaven a dome; and sent down from heaven water, and brought forth therewith fruits as a sustenance for you; so make no peers for God, the while ye know!

And if ye are in doubt of what we have revealed unto our servant, then bring a chapter like it, and call your witnesses other than God if ye tell truth. —*Ibid, Vol. VI., pp. 2-3.*

22. THE DOCTRINES OF ISLAMISM.

Mohammed himself suggested the name "Islâm" for the religion that he taught; and certainly no more beautiful name for a religion could have been chosen. An approximate translation of Islâm is peace-giving faith, Islâm involves the surrender of oneself into the hands of *Allah*, as the only means of obtaining perfect peace of soul. It is a term, therefore, that emphasizes above all the element of faith—faith in *Allah*. For Mohammed to have urged so persistently upon his hearers to "submit themselves to Allah," is a testimony to the depth of his own religious feelings; and it is equally significant of the deep impression that his personality must have made, that in the elaborate theology of Islâm the element of faith has remained the most conspicuous trait. Islamism is essentially a religion of faith.

Mohammed was, as we have seen, not a person who could formulate a system of thought. We must not, therefore, look for a logical statement of the doctrines of Islamism in the Korân. The task of deriving these doctrines from the sporadic sayings of the prophet was no easy one, and naturally differences of opinion arose soon after Mohammed's death, as to the views of the prophets. The most valuable aid to the theologians in perfecting their religious system on the basis of the Korân, was found in the large number of traditions that were current of the sayings and doings of the prophet. The collections and interpretations of these sayings and doings gave rise to a new science, known as Hadîth, which about corresponds to our term "tradition." The Korân and the Hadîth thus represent the written and the oral law of Islamism respectively. From the two together, the doctrines of the religion are derived. These doctrines are concerned with God, with the prophets, with the relationship of men to *Allah*, and with future rewards and punishments.

The cornerstone of Islamism is the unity of God. This doctrine was interpreted by all theologians of Islamism in an absolute sense. That there can be no divine being except *Allah* is the thought that took the most definite shape in Mohammed's mind. To associate anyone or anything with *Allah* is blasphemy and idolatry. In a less decisive manner, he protests against unworthy conceptions of *Allah* which might indicate a resemblance to human attributes. The eternity and omniscience of *Allah* follow as necessary corollaries. In their conceptions of *Allah*, both Mohammed and the theologians lay great stress upon his love and mercy. He forgives the transgressions of those who honestly and truly believe in him. He desires the happiness of his creatures, but he asks in return obedience to the moral laws and religious rites as laid down in the Koran. These laws and rites, though primarily intended (as were the revelations given to Mohammed) for the Koreish and the Arabs, are applicable to all mankind. Had Mohammed remained in Mecca, we might have had the development of a doctrine that would have made the Koreishites the special servators of *Allah*—a people "peculiar" to *Allah;* but Mohammed's removal to Medina and his success in attracting all the tribes of Arabia to his side before he died, prompted him to lay strong emphasis in his latter utterances upon the universality of Islâm. The Mohammedan theologians improve upon this example. Absolute as *Allah* is, he does not hesitate to employ human beings as his instruments. Indeed, but for certain persons to whom *Allah* chooses to reveal himself, mankind would be in ignorance of *Allah's* nature and of his will. These persons so singled out are the messengers of *Allah*, and Mohammed is fond of laying stress upon the fact that to every people *Allah* has sent, at some time or the other, a messenger. His knowledge of history being limited, Mohammed speaks only in the Korân of the characters in Jewish and Christian writings and of some prophets, otherwise unknown to us, who were sent to warn some of the tribes of Arabia. Mohammed freely acknowledges the claim of these men to having been divinely inspired messengers. He places himself in the company of Noah, Abraham, Moses,

Jesus, and so forth, his only special claim being to the "last" of the prophets—the one who puts the "seal" on prophecy. Whether he really meant that no more messengers would be sent after his death is doubtful. The question probably did not present itself to his mind. Certainly, the doctrine that "Mohammed is the messenger of *Allah*" was never interpreted either by Mohammed or his followers as implying that Mohammed occupied a position entirely unique by virtue of being a prophet. The rank held by these prophets was not the same in all cases, but there were at least five* preceding Mohammed, who, like the latter, came with a special message from *Allah*.

Man owed obedience to *Allah*, and this obedience was to be as absolute, as the oriental ideal demanded in the case of subjects to an earthly king. In the doctrine of the relationship of mankind to *Allah*, Islamism reflects conditions still peculiar to the Orient. *Allah* was the sultan, inaccessible, seated behind a throne which only his chosen messengers could approach, concerned for the welfare of his subjects, merciful and forgiving, but exacting unquestioned obedience. Skepticism was a revolt against *Allah's* authority that would be most grievously punished; idolatry was one of the worst forms of disobedience to the divine fiat. The most glorious life, the highest type of obedience, was to serve *Allah* by fighting in his cause. There are frequent references to warfare in the Koran. Mohammed himself, we have seen, was chiefly concerned with only one struggle—to gain admission to Mecca; but once having gathered at his side the Arabic tribes, for whom warfare was almost synonymous with activity, Mohammed was prompted to favor a warfare upon all those who did not join his standard. He would hardly have countenanced the daring exploits of his lieutenants, organized on so large a scale after the prophet's death; but Omar and Othman, with whom the spread of Islâm beyond the confines of Arabia seriously begins, no doubt felt that they were acting in Mohammed's spirit when they raised the *Djihâd—i.e.*, the duty of fighting for Islâm—to the dignity almost of a doctrine. To those who died on the battle-field the highest rewards were in store. Accepting the animistic view that life once begun cannot come to an end, Mohammed's view of the future world was further colored by the distinctively Christian views of Paradise and Hell current at the time. In the Korân, the tortures of Hell and the joys of Paradise are painted in vivid colors. Those who were doomed to the former were to suffer from fire, hunger, and thirst, while in Paradise cooling streams would add to the pleasures of the abode in beautiful gardens, and beautiful maidens would be in attendance to cater to all wants. Paradise was open to all true believers who were obedient to *Allah*. The prophets and those who died for the sake of *Allah* would be sent direct to Paradise, without being subjected to any further probation; all the others must wait until the final day of judgment, when their actions will be weighed in a fine balance, and according as their good or bad deeds are the heavier, will be sent to Paradise or Hell. Much has been made of the so-called Mohammedan fatalism. It is hardly proper to call fatalism a doctrine of Islâm. The dilemma involved in assuming, on the one hand, the omniscience of *Allah*, which includes, necessarily, his fore-knowledge, and on the other, in asking man's obedience to *Allah*, which involves his freedom to disobey, never presented itself to Mohammed; and even when he told his followers that, whether they enter the battle-field or not, *Allah's* will with regard to them will be done, he was only conscious of using an argument that might heighten human courage in the face of danger. Naturally, the theologians of Islâm could not be satisfied with such vagueness; and accordingly, after generations of discussion and many wrangles between the various sects that arose, orthodox Islamism attached itself firmly to the doctrine that God ordains all that is to happen in this world, and permitted itself at the same time, the inconsistency of assuming that *Allah* grants man the freedom to choose between good and bad deeds.

*Adam, Noah, Moses, Abraham, Jesus.

23. THE RITES OF ISLAMISM.

The theological system of Islâm aims at embracing the entire life of man. Islamism covers public and private duties, the functions of the state as well as the official cult. The Mohammedan thelogians are also the jurisconsults. In treating, therefore, of the chief obligations imposed by Islamism upon its followers, we must bear in mind that the observance of these obligations by no means exhausts the scope of the religion. All the theologians are agreed upon recognizing five primary duties—the confession of faith, prayer, the poor-tax, fasting during the sacred month, and the pilgrimage to Mecca. The formal confession of faith, "There is no God but Allah, and Mohammed is the prophet of *Allah*," is, of course, nothing but a convenient summary of the two chief doctrines of Islâm. This declaration con-

The Postures taken during Prayer.

stitutes the initiation into Islâm, and, once made, one takes upon oneself all the duties incumbent upon a Moslem. Apostasy is punished with death.

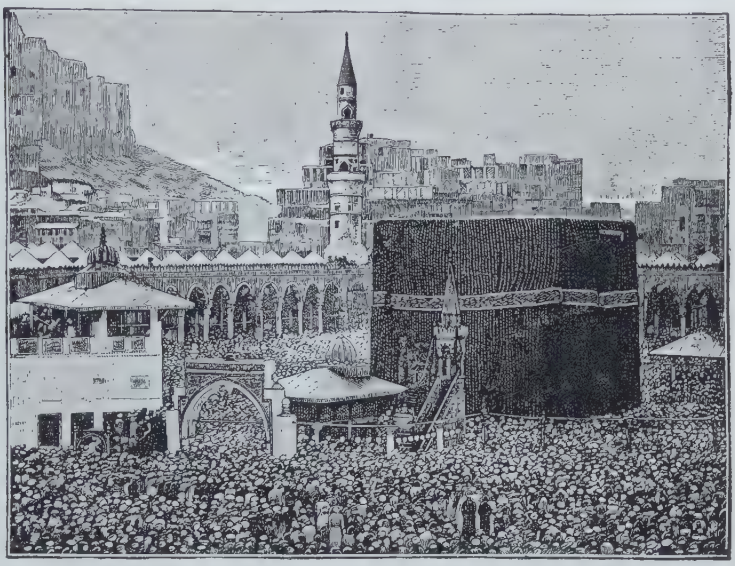
The most important innovation that Mohammed introduced among the religious customs of the Arabs was daily prayer. Adopting, as it would seem, the Jewish division of the Day of Atonement into five parts and applying it for daily use, Mohammed expressly declares that the follower of Islâm should direct his thoughts to *Allah* at sunset, at night, at day-break, noon and afternoon. He does not specify any particular place where the prayers are to be said. In fact, he enjoins the daily prayer upon all, wherever one might be; but it was natural that, where places of assembly existed, they should be selected on certain occasions for the purpose; and as Islamism spreads, mosques—literally "prostration places"—were erected in large numbers. In these mosques, the prayer is led by the *Imâm*, "leader," who takes up a position at one end. Behind him is the congregation that follows his actions. At first Mohammed directed that in praying one should turn towards the holy house in Jerusalem, but subsequently changed this order in favor of the Kaaba, "the house of *Allah*," in Mecca. In every mosque there is a niche, known as the *Kiblâ*, "direction," which points towards Mecca. Exactly of what nature the form of prayer was that Mohammed instituted, we do not know. It no doubt consisted largely of ejaculations of praise, so that in this respect the ritual, as used at the present day, is a development along traditional lines. Accompanying certain formulas, all emphasizing the greatness of *Allah*, and the obligation to praise him, and to declare his

glory, the *Imâm* and congregation, or the private individual, go through a series of attitudes, beginning with an upright posture, bending forward, kneeling, prostration, and rising up again. A complete series of postures is known as a *rikâ*, and a service consists of a varying number of such *rikâs*. Supplementary to the prayers, it is the part of piety to add some verses from the Korân and to ejaculate over and over again some such phrases as "God is great," "Praise be to God." The petition to *Allah* occupies a minor place. As a usual thing, the daily prayers are said by the individual in his house or his shop or wherever he happens to be. The formal assembly in the mosque is restricted by the majority of Mohammedans to Friday, which Mohammed, as a distinguishing mark from the Jews and Christians, chose as a "day of assembly." The observance of Friday does not partake of the character of a Sabbath in the Jewish or Christian sense. The obligation to pray so often was most irksome to the Bedouins. Many rebelled against it, and to this day the rite is imperfectly carried out. Upon good authority one may state that there are comparatively few Mohammedans—except in Mecca—so pious as to pray five times every day. Previous to the prayer, a ceremonial washing of the hands with water or sand was prescribed by Mohammed. Next to prayer, a significant innovation, introduced by Mohammed, was fasting. Fasting was probably not entirely unknown among the Arabs before the advent of the Prophet, but the institution of a twenty-eight days' fast marked a new departure. In introducing this rite Mohammed shows Christian influence. The month of Ramadan, which was regarded as sacred by the Arabs from a very ancient period, must have suggested to Mohammed a resemblance to the Lenten season, the length of which varied among Christian communities during the first centuries of our era. In its developed form, the ordinances for Ramadan provide that for one month neither food nor water should pass the lips of the faithful between sunrise and sunset. Between sunset and sunrise, however, the fast may be broken. At the close of the fast—still generally observed—a festival is celebrated. Besides the long fast, a fast of one day is prescribed for certain transgressions, and Islamism also encourages voluntary fasting.

Mohammed's kindly disposition manifests itself in the frequent injunctions to remember the poor, the orphan, and the widow. He urges charity on all occasions, and his followers certainly acted in his spirit in instituting a regular poor-tax. In the consistently regulated Mohammedan state, the *zakât* constitutes an official tax, like the half shekel in the Jewish state, but changes in political conditions have converted the obligation into a charity-gift. So much, at least, of Mohammed's spirit survives, that every Mohammedan community feels keenly the duty of providing for the poor and helpless; but almsgiving has not solved the problem of pauperism in Mohammedan countries—as little as it has elsewhere.

Mohammed's attachment to the Kaaba furnishes the definite proof—if such were needed—that it never entered his mind to create a religious revolution among his people. All that he wanted was to "warn" people to be faithful to *Allah*, and to acknowledge none but *Allah;* he could not have recognized the profound changes that were to be wrought by such rites as daily prayers and fasting during Ramadan. The Kaaba was, as has been pointed out, a local sanctuary. It had acquired prominence through its proximity to Okas (where, it will be recalled, a great annual fair was held), and through the fact that in the valley of Mina, outside of Mecca, there were some sacred places, and that at the end of the valley there was a sacred mountain (Arafat) where an annual festival of three days was celebrated, for which Arabs gathered from all sides. The zeal of the Koreish for the Kaaba, the care that the family took of visitors, prompted many, on their way to Okas and to the sacred mountain, to pass through Mecca, and pay a visit to the black stone of the Kaaba. Mohammed set the example for all ages by combining, a few months before his death, a visit to the valley of Mina and Mount Arafat, with a circuit around the sacred edifice in Mecca, in a wall of which the black stone was in his days embedded. Through

the influence of this example, the center of attraction was shifted from the valley and the mountain to the Kaaba, and the obligation was imposed upon every Moslem, at least once in his life, to perform a pilgrimage to Mecca. The circuits around the Kaaba can be made at any time during the year; but pilgrims time their arrival in the sacred city so as to combine with their visit the celebration of the great annual festival—to which properly the term *Hadj* applies — connected with the passage through the valley of Mina and the ascent of Mount Arafat. The real Hadj is performed only during the first ten days of the month known as the Dsu-l-Hadj, *i.e.*, month of pilgrimage. No institution of Islâm has been so powerful as the Hadj in welding Mohammedans all the world over into a united religious community, fanatically opposed to all others. Islamism either sanctioned or indirectly encouraged the retention of many ancient Arabic notions, such as the belief in demons, omens, and dreams. The marriage and funeral rites of Islâm and the birth customs are similarly legacies of a distant past, but slightly modified by the introduction of Islam. The large proportion of the features which unite practical Islamism to the ancient Semitic world makes it easy to understand how much of the Semite has survived in the Mohammedan. The position of woman has not been changed by Islâm. Polygamy and slavery were sanctioned by Mohammed's example, though it is but proper to add that the current notions of Mohammed's sensualism do him an injustice. Polygamy was the rule in the ancient Semitic society, and Mohammed's adherence to the custom is but an illustration of the hold that ancient conditions had upon him.



The Kaaba under its black covering. The Pavilion on the left covers the well Zem-Zem.

23. THE RITES OF ISLAMISM.

The Chapter of Joseph.—(This sura, No. 12, affords a specimen of Mohammed's use of Biblical themes. *Cf.* from Lesson 21.

When Joseph said to his father, "O my sire! verily, I saw eleven stars, and the sun, and the moon—I saw them adoring me!"

He said, "O my boy! tell not thy vision to thy brethren, for they will plot a plot against thee; verily, the devil is to man an open foe."

When they said, "Surely, Joseph and his brother are dearer to our father than we, a band although we be; verily, our father is in obvious error.

"Slay Joseph, or cast him in some land; that your father's face may be free for you, and ye may be, after he is gone, a people who do right."

A speaker from amongst them spake, "Slay not Joseph, but throw him into the bottom of the pit; some of the travelers may pick him up, if so ye do."

Said they, "O our father! what ails thee that thou wilt not trust us with Joseph while we are unto him sincere? Send him with us tomorrow to revel and to play, and, verily, we over him will keep good guard."

Said he, "Verily, it grieves me that ye should go off with him, for I fear lest the wolf devour him while ye of him do take no heed."

Said they, "Why, if the wolf should devour him while we are (such) a band, verily, we then should deserve to lose!"

And when they had gone off with him and agreed to put him in the depths of the pit, and we inspired him, "Thou shalt surely inform them of this affair of theirs and they shall not perceive."

And they came to their father at eve and weeping said, "O our father! verily, we went forth to race and left Joseph by our goods, and the wolf devoured him—but thou wilt not believe us, truth tellers though we be."—*Ibid, Vol. VI., p. 219-20.*

24. THE SECTS OF ISLAM.

The rapid spread of Islâm, so familiar and yet so astonishing to students of history, introduced a disturbing factor into the movement that served to check more effectively than the armies of Europe, the danger of a universal sway of Islâm. That factor was the introduction of Irak and Iran into the ranks of the faithful. The religion, as it had taken shape in the mind of Mohammed, was not adapted for becoming the faith of a population like that of Mesopotamia and Persia proper, which had been subjected to influences totally different from those prevailing in Arabia. Islamism pays the penalty for the ambition of securing political control over lands that had but little in common with one another by becoming divided against itself. The generation which knew Mohammed had not yet passed away before the cry of the Muezzin on the towers of the mosque, "Allah is great!" resounded from the Red Sea to the shores of the Caspian, and the echoes could be heard along the lands of the Mediterranean; but, corresponding to the expansion of dominion, various phases of Islam had also arisen.

The differences among the followers of the Prophet at first assumed a purely political aspect. Everything seemed to hinge upon the question of the proper successor to Mohammed, but even here essential differences between Arabic and extra-Arabic conceptions became apparent. The Arabs, unaccustomed to any other idea of rulership except that recognized by the popular will, favored the appointment of the Caliph, *i.e.* successor to Mohammed, by election. To the population of Irak and Iran, long accustomed to the more stable conditions, represented by priestly castes and social distinctions, heredity appeared to be the more legitimate principle. The first three caliphs following upon Mohammed represent the triumph of the Arabic view, but with the advent of Ali, the son-in-law who succeeded Othman, the outlook for the advocates of the hereditary principle seemed brighter. Ali possessed neither the power nor the gift of healing the breach, so that even before his death, the permanency of the schism was apparent to all who grasped the situation.

Muawiya, the governor of Syria, succeeded in establishing himself in control after the death of Ali. The adherents of the latter recognized Husain, Ali's second son, since the elder had yielded his prerogatives in favor of Muawiya, and the long struggle—bitter and bloody—began. The followers of Ali became a party, and are henceforth known as the *Shiites.**

They refused to recognize the legitimacy of the first three caliphs, Abu-Bekr, Omar, and Othman, and after Ali, they accept none of the caliphs recognized by the rest of the Mohammedan world. By way of contrast, the opponents of the Shiites, claiming that they were following the example of the Prophet, called themselves Sunnites—a term equivalent to our word "normal." To this day, the Mohammedan world is divided into these two branches, though both among Sunnites and Shiites, various and indeed numerous subdivisions arose in the course of time.

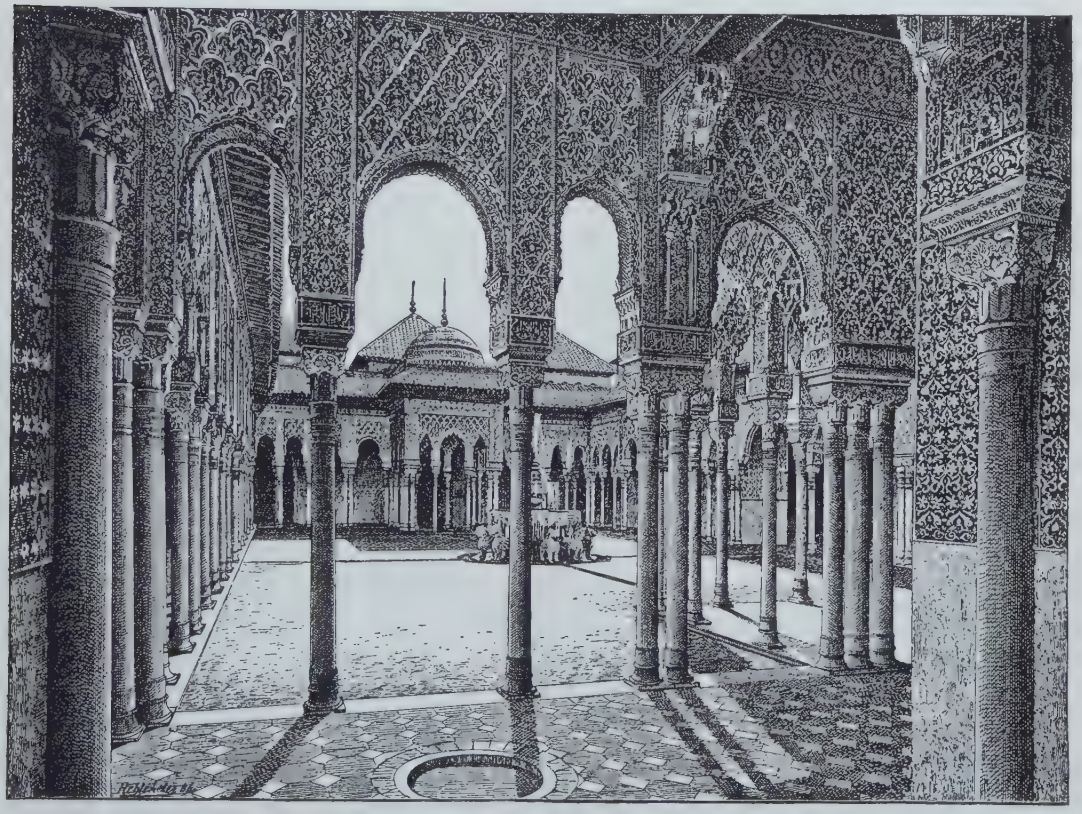
Behind and beyond the political dissensions, however, which culminated in the great schism, there lay other differences in which the interpretation of the Islamic doctrines was involved. The impulse to the theological elaboration of Mohammed's religion naturally came from those regions in which culture, learning, and intellectual activity centered. Iran was one of those regions, and Irak was but an extension of Iran, while in Syria, the existence of various Christian sects actively engaged in reconciling and combining Christian theology with Greek philosophy may be taken as an index of the intellectual activity that prevailed there.

Islamic theology is thus the product of non-Arabian centers. The first results of theological inquiry within Mohammedan circles were in the direction of "free thought." The influence of Greek philosophy is clearly apparent in a powerful school that arose, with its center in Mesopotamia, and known as the Mu'tazilites, *i.e.*,

* *I.e.*, "the one la", *scic*, by *Allah*.

Separatists, who denied the eternity of the attributes assigned to *Allah*, inasmuch as such a view involved the existence of beings by the side of *Allah*, boldly proclaimed the freedom of the human will, denied the absolute authority of the Koran as well as the doctrine of predestination. For a time, this party by virtue of intellectual preëminence enjoyed great power. They succeeded in gaining the adherence of the Caliph Al-Ma'mun (813-833 A.D.), and under the influence of the Mu'tazilites there arose a spirit of skepticism which threatened seriously to upset the orthodox faith. This skepticism affected chiefly Persia and countries in which Persian influence was strong, but Arabia itself did not escape.

The famous Omar Khayyam (eleventh century), the type of Islamic skepticism in Persia, has his counterpart in Abu-l- Alâ al-Ma'arri in Arabia. Islam was begin-



The Lion-Court in the Alhambra at Granada, Spain.

ning to lose its hold upon its votaries when the reaction set in. The Mu'tazilites were persecuted, freedom of thought was suppressed, and by the beginning of the eleventh century the orthodox party had gained almost complete sway. Al-Ash'ari (874-935), who started out as a Mu'tazilite, became the founder of the Sunnitic system of theology, while the final details of Mohammedan orthodoxy were added by al-Ghazzâli (1059-1111). This system, which well merits admiration for its thoroughness and its encylopædic character, sets up seven eternal attributes of *Allah*, and accepts the belief in angels as creations of *Allah*. *Allah* has at all times revealed himself through prophets. The Koran has always existed with *Allah*, until it was revealed to Mohammed through the angel Gabriel. Man, though entirely in the hands of *Allah*, is yet free to give to his actions, a moral or immoral character. On the final day of judgment, all men will arise to be judged. Their deeds will be

weighed in the balance. All will pass over the bridge known as *Sirât.* Those whose good deeds outweigh the bad will pass safely across and enter Paradise; the others will fall through the bridge into Hell. The faithful will be assisted by the intercession of Mohammed, while all prophets and martyrs pass directly into Paradise without a trial, and immediately upon their death.

This system, powerful as its influence was, did not crush out the Shiitic movement, nor did it prevent the rise of numerous sects and religious uprisings at various times. Within the orthodox party itself four subdivisions arose. The strictest of these is the Hanbalite sect, which carried the worship of the Koran to the uttermost extreme and opposed all investigations into the religious doctrines. Its adherents at present are limited to the interior of Arabia. The majority of the Turks belong to the party that takes its name of Hanafite from Abu Hanifa—a native of Irak—and which may be designated as the left wing of orthodoxy. Somewhat stricter is the party of the Malikites. Egypt and Syria are the strongholds of the Shafite sect. These four subdivisions, while agreeing in their main tenets, differ considerably from one another in ritualistic details.

But it was among the Shiites that the process leading to the rise of new sects went on with special vigor. From the Shiites have generally come the religious agitations that stirred the Islamic world, as also among them the intellectual movements had their origin.

The Messianic idea, that plays so significant a role in Jewish and Christian theology, affected Mohammed but slightly, and, as a consequence, there are but small traces of it in the Sunnite system. Among the Shiites, however, it is the active source of various religious movements. The view arose that Ali had not died. In the thunder, his voice was heard, in the lightning his rebuke of mankind. In due time, it is believed, he will come back to earth and establish justice. Upon the death of Husain (Ali's second son), the majority of the Shiites recognized the claims of the immediate descendants of Hasan and Husain, as the grandsons of Mohammed, through the prophet's daughter Fatima, while others attached themselves to a third son of Ali, Mohammed, born to him by another wife. Of this Mohammed, likewise, the belief was current that he had not died, but was hidden in a mountain to the west of Medina and would return. Such a belief naturally encouraged the rise of false Messiahs, and the supply was always equal to the demand. One party among the Shiites recognized twelve legitimate successors to Mohammed, beginning with Ali, and known as Imâms, *i. e.*, "leaders." The twelfth disappears mysteriously in the year 941 and the doctrine rises among this party, known as Imâmites, of the "hidden Imâm," to whom access could be had only through a special servitor. This doctrine likewise opened the door to deceivers and fanatics, who claimed to be the medium through whom the hidden Imâm communicated his desires. Others of the Shiites broke off the succession at the fifth Imâm, known as Mohammed, and recognized his brother Zeid. The Zeidites, as they were called, curiously enough recognized the legitimacy of AbuBekr and Omar and inclined towards Mu'tazilitic doctrines. Again, with the eighth Imâm, Ali al-Ridha, who makes an attempt to secure the caliphate of Bagdad, a break is made by a party which recognizes Ismael as the successor of Ali al-Ridha instead of his brother Mohammed. Ismael loses his life in the turmoil, and again the belief arises that he has not died, but is hidden. Under the lead of Abdallah ibn Maimun, the sect of the Ismaelites, takes its rise, and Abdallah lays claim to being the one to whom the hidden Imâm was pleased to communicate his orders. A branch of the Ismaelites is represented by the Karmalians. Led by Hamdân Karmat, they succeeded in capturing Mecca in 930, and carried the black stone of the Kaaba with them. Twenty years later the fetish was restored. After the death of Abdallah and of his son, a certain Obaidallah appears among the Berbers of Northern Africa, and, claiming to be the incarnation of the last Ismael, establishes the dynasty of the Fatimites in Egypt in 969 A.D. In this

dynasty, the Messianic idea runs riot, one member known as Hâkim claiming to be the incarnation of the deity himself. Under the name of Druses, so called from ad-Darâzi, a follower of Hâkim, adherents of this belief still exist in the Lebanon districts. These two impersonations, (*a*) that of the hidden Imâm, or the Mahdi, as he was termed at times, and in some districts, and (*b*) that of the deity himself form the regular features of the religious movements among the Shiites. A curious feature of these movements is the opposition against the sacred spots of Arabian Islamism—the Kaaba, the graves of the first caliphs, and even the grave of the Prophet. The violent reaction of the Shiites against all forms of fetishism constitutes, indeed, their redeeming feature. On the other hand, the methods pursued by some of those sects to accomplish their ends were most revolting. In the eleventh century a kind of religious order was organized by Hassan ibn Sabbâh. From their use of an intoxicating draught in their ritual, known as *hashish*, the members became known as assassins; and this term acquired distasteful associations from the means adopted by the assassins to rid themselves of their enemies—secret murder. Another development of the Shiitic aberrations is the rise of secret orders and of mystic sects.

In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the orders of the Dervishes start up. They represent the culmination of the movement towards mysticism. From the word *sufa* which designates a coarse, woolen garment worn by those who devoted themselves to a life of piety and ascetism, the term *sufî* became the general designation of the Islamic mystic. It was in Persia again that Sufism found its chief votaries, and so most of the orders of the Dervishes are to be found among the Shiites of Persia. New orders of Dervishes were established in almost every century, and the present one forms no exception. Each order has its ritual, a code of morals that each claims can be traced directly to Mohammed. Many of the orders have cloisters, and all have places of religious assembly. In some, religious excitement forms the purpose of their meetings. By whirling and shouting, the members lash themselves into a state, bordering on religious frenzy. These are the so-called howling and dancing Dervishes. In others, asceticism is the chief ideal.

Anti-Islamic tendencies form a feature of Sufism, as of some of the orders of Dervishes. In the latter half of the last century, a sect arose under the leadership of Abd al-Wahhab to purify Islamism in Arabia of all traces of idolatry. They included, under this term, the homage paid to saints, and did not hesitate to lay hands on the tomb of Mohammed. At the same time, they protested against all innovations into Islam, and preached a vigorous crusade against luxury and social vices. The movement, although originating within the Sunnite party, shows the influence of Shiitic ideas. It found little favor in the religious centers of Islam and gradually went to pieces. Scarcely fifty years have passed since there was shot in Persia a man, Mirza Ali Mohammed, who claimed to be the "gate of communication with the hidden Imâm." This movement known as Babism has not yet run its course, although strong efforts were made to suppress it by the Persian government. The appearance of a "Mahdi" a few years ago in the Soudan is a piece of recent history well-known to every one, and serves as an illustration of the persistency of ancient doctrines, as well as of the continued activity of Islam.

In forming a general estimate of Islamism, the intellectual movement, which follows in the wake of the conquests of the Arabs, must not be overlooked. While the so-called Arabic science is to be traced to Persian sources, and is, indeed, largely a continuation of Persian culture, still it is an integral part of Islamism.

For the Christian world to imagine that Islamism is on the decline is to cradle a strange delusion. Islamic thought and science have run their course, but the religion of Mohammed is still spreading in Africa, and more than holds its own throughout the Turkish empire, in Egypt, northern Africa, and in Persia, as well as in distant India, China, and Java. The present number of Mohammedans is estimated at one hundred and seventy-five millions.

If Islam is destined to disappear, it will not be by conquest at the hands of European armies, nor by the control of European states. It will survive even the destruction of the Turkish empire—an event, by the way, that is far from being imminent. The presence of Christian missionaries in the east will not drive it out. Should Islam ever disappear, it will be through a disintegrating process, due to the presence of elements that cannot be assimilated. Arabia and Persia represent two such hostile factors. The fermentation produced by the constant conflicts between Sunnites and Shiites, hitherto encouraging only sectarianism, may eventually lead to a dissolution of the entire mass.

FOURTH WEEKLY REVIEW.

19. **ARABIAN RELIGION BEFORE MOHAMMED.**—Yemen, Immigration, Northern Arabs, Various clans, Mutual independence, Islamism, Fairs, Stones, Trees, Tribal deities, Mecca, Foreign influence.
20. **MOHAMMED.**—Birth, Koreish, Marriage, Commerce, Hanif, Prophet of Allah, Education, Sincerity, Monotheism, Opposition, Flight, Army formed, Meccans subdued, Arabs united, Pilgrimage to the Kaaba.
21. **THE KORAN.**—Preacher, Early utterances, Content of message, Later utterances, Political elements, Confusion of Biblical events, Koran, Recitations, Order of suras, Dullness of the Koran.
22. **THE DOCTRINES OF ISLAM.**—Islam, Scripture and tradition, Unity of Allah, Eternity, Love and mercy, Universality, Messenger to every people, Mohammed the last, Allah a sultan, Warfare, Hell and Heaven, Fatalism.
23. **THE RITES OF ISLAM.**—Confession of faith, Prayer, Poor-tax, Fasting, Pilgrimage, Prostration, Mosque, Friday, Praise, Prayer, Kaaba, Pilgrimage of Mohammed, Omens, Polygamy, Slavery.
24. **THE SECTS OF ISLAM.**—Persian influence, Politics influence ecclesiastics, Shiites, Sunnites, Theologic activity, Free-thought and orthodoxy, Messianic movements, Dervishes, Expansion of Islam, Its future.

QUESTIONS.

19. *What two classes composed the Arabs? Describe the Sabaean empire. What happened in the fifth century A.D.? What was the political relation between the various clans? How did Islamism profit by this? What part had the fairs played? Describe the early religion of Arabia. What special cult flourished at Mecca?*

20. *When was Mohammed born? Describe his family, and early history. Why did he belong to the hanifs? How was his prophecy received by his compatriots? What education had Mohammed? Was he sincere? How does the influence of Judaism and Christianity appear? What aroused opposition to Mohammed? What was the flight of Mohammed? Sketch his life from this time until its close.*

21. *Characterize the early utterances of Mohammed. What was the tenor of his utterances at Medina? How correctly does he relate Biblical incidents? Why was the Koran so called? How do the Meccan speeches differ from those made later? What order does the Koran observe? Describe the two styles in the Koran.*

22. *How may Islam be rendered? What is the most conspicuous element in Islam? On what two sources has Islamic theology been based? What is the chief doctrine of Islamism? What are the chief traits of Allah? What did Mohammed think of other prophets? What political condition does the conception of Allah reflect? What was the highest service to Allah? State the notions of Hell and Heaven. How far was fatalism taught?*

23. *Name the five primary duties. State the confession of faith. What was Mohammed's chief innovation? What were the times for prayer? What was the purpose of the mosque? When does the assembly take place? State the proportion of praise and prayer. Is the prayer obligation generally recognized? What is Ramadan? Describe Mohammed's attitude to the Kaaba, and its implication. What does the perpetuation of polygamy and slavery imply?*

24. *What checked the progress of Islam? How did political conditions influence the choice of a successor to Mohammed? Who were the Shiites? Who were the Sunnites? Where was the theological elaboration done? What tendency does Omar Khayyam represent? But what does Mohammedan orthodoxy teach? Describe some Messianic movements. What are Dervishes? To what order did the recent Mahdi belong?*

SUBJECTS FOR SPECIAL STUDY.

1. *Comparison of the origin of Islamism with others already noticed will show how historic religions grow out of prehistoric ones. The absolutely primitive is never reached.*
2. *Compare Mohammed with the founders of religions previously described.*
3. *Contrast the very different conditions under which the Buddhist Suttas were composed.*
4. *Compare Allah with Tien.*
5. *Compare these five duties with the precepts of Buddhism.*
6. *Compare the Mohammedan with the Buddhist church histories.*

GAZETTEER AND GLOSSARY.

KEY TO PRONUNCIATION.

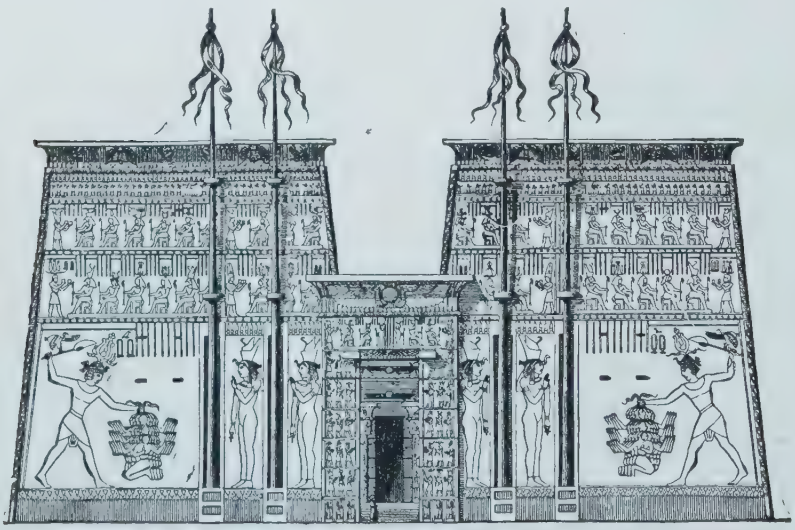
a as in fat.	i as in pin.	ū as in tube.
ā as in fate.	ī as in pine.	ü Place the lips for oo, but say ee.
ä as in father.	o as in not.	oi as in joint.
a when obscure.	ō as in note.	ou as in proud.
e as in met.	ö as in move.	g as in get.
ē as in mete.	u as in tub.	n̂ French nasal n.

N. B.—The pronunciation of the names commonly known has been Anglicized.

Allah (äl-läh′ ; the *h* is is guttural.)—An Arabic god.
Alon (ä′lon).—A Phoenecian god.
Amen (*a*m′en).—An Egyptian god.
Anu (ä′nö).—A Babylonian god.
Anubis (*a*-nö′bis).—An Egyptian god.
Anunnaki (ä-nön′nä-kē).—Babylonian spirits.
Apis (ā′pis).—A bull.
Ashur (ä′shör).—An Assyrian god.
Astarte (as-tär′t*a*) —A Syrian goddess.
Atmu (ät′mö).—An Egyptian god.
Baal (bā′*a*l).—A Syrian god.
Baalat (bä′*a*l-*a*t).—A Phoenician goddess.
Baalhammon (bä′*a*l-häm′mon).—A Phoenician god.
Baalshamen (bä′*a*l-shä′men).—A Phoenician god.
Bakis (bā′kis).—A bull.
Bast (bäst).—An Egyptian goddess.
Bel (bāl).—A Babylonian god.
Bes (bās).—An Egyptian god.
Chemosh (khā′mosh).—A Moabite god.
Duzu (dö′zö).—A Babylonian god.
Ea (ā′ä).—A Babylonian god.
Eabani (ā′ä-bä′ne).—A Babylonian hero.
El (āl).—A Hebrew god.
Eshmun (āsh′mön).—A Phoenician god.
Gilgamesh (gēl-gä′mesh).— A Babylonian hero.
Hajj (häj).—The pilgrimage to Mecca.
Hanif (hä′nif).—A heretic.
Hathor (hä′thor).—An Egyptian goddess.
Hijra (hēj′rä).—The flight of Mohammed.
Horus (hō′rus).—An Egyptian god.
Il (ēl).—The Strong One.
Ilu (ē′lö).—An Assyrian god.
Ishtar (ēsh′tär).—A Babylonian goddess.
Islam (ēs-läm′). Mohammedanism.
Islamism (ēs′läm-ism).—Mohammedanism.
Isis (ī′sis).—An Egyptian goddess.
Jehovah (jē-hō′vä).—The Hebrew god.
Kaaba (kä′ä-b*a*).—Temple in Mecca.
Kabiri (kä-bī′rē).—Dwarf gods.
Khnumu (khnŏ′mŏ).—An Egyptian god.
Khonsu (khōn′sŏ).—An Egyptian god.
Koran (ko-rän′).—The scripture of Islamism.
Maat (mä′*a*t).—An Egyptian goddess.
Mahdi (mäh′dē).—An Islamic messiah.
Maruduk (mä′rö-duk).—A Babylonian hero god.
Melek (mē′lek).—A Phoenician title.
Melkarth (māl′kärth).—A Syrian god.
Mesha (mā′shä).—A Moabite king.
Milk (mīlk).—A Phoenician title.
Min (mēn).—An Egyptian god.
Mnevis (mnē′vis).—A bull.
Mohammed (mō-häm′med; the second *m* must be sounded as well as the first).—The Arab prophet.
Nabu (nä′bö).—A Babylonian god.
Nebo (nā′bō).—A Babylonian god.
Nephthys (nef′this).—An Egyptian goddess.
Nergal (nār′g*a*l).—A Babylonian god.
Neit (nīt).—A Libyan goddess.
Nusku (nö′skö).—A Babylonian god.
Nut (nöt).—The sky.
Onuphis (o-nö′fis).—A bull.
Osiris (ō-sī′ris).—An Egyptian god.
Ptah (ptä).—An Egyptian god.
Ra (rā).—An Egyptian god.
Ramman (räm′män).—A Babylonian god.
Seb (sāb).—The earth.
Semites (sē′mites).—A historic race.
Set (set).—An Egyptian god.
Serapis (se-rā′pis).—An Egyptian god.
Shamash (shä′m*a*sh).—A Babylonian god.
Shu (shö).—Space.
Sin (sēn).—A Babylonian god.
Sura (sö′r*a*).—Chapter in the Koran.
Tammuz (täm′möz).—A Babylonian god.
Tiamat (tē′ä-mät).—A Babylonian demoness.
Yemen (yā′men).—A province in Arabia.
Ziggurat (zēg′gö-r*a*t).—A Babylonian temple.

SIDE LIGHTS.

The Evolution of Religion in Egypt.—Were it possible to describe the life of the ancient Egyptians without touching upon a subject of such moment to them as their religion, I would gladly do so, for it is not possible as yet to give a satisfactory scientific account of the faith of this ancient nation. In spite of the enormous amount of material that we possess in the shape of religious texts and pictures, our knowledge of the subject is still very elementary, and in the following sketch much must still be considered as hypothetical. It is most probable that originally the whole country did not profess a common religion. It is true that there are certain representations which continually recur, and which seem common to all parts of Egypt, as for instance, that of Rê', the sun-god, passing through the heavens in his bark, or of heaven as a goddess bending over the earth, but these representations have little to do with religion itself. He who needed superhuman help turned rather to a god more akin to himself, the *god of his town*. Each town, and indeed each village, possessed its own particular divinity, adored by the respective inhabitants, and by them alone. Thus the later town of Memphis was faithful to Ptah, of whom they said, that as a potter on his wheel he had turned the egg from which the world was hatched. The god Atum was the "town god" of Heliopolis; in Chnum we find Thoth, in Abydos Osiris, in Thebes Amon, in Hermonthis Mont, and so on. The goddess Hathôr was revered in Denderah, Bastet in the town later called Bubastis, while in Sais the people adored the warlike Neit, who was probably of Libyan origin. The names of many of these deities show them to be purely local gods, many being originally called after the towns, as, "him of Ombos," "him of Edfu," "her of Bast"; they are really merely the genii of the towns. Many were supposed to show themselves to their worshipers in the form of some object in which they dwelt, *e.g.*, the god of the town Dedu in the Delta (the later Busiris) in the shape of the wooden pillar. . . . The form chosen was generally that of some animal: Ptah manifested himself in the Apis bull, Amon in the ram, Sobk of the Feyum in a crocodile, and so on. The Egyptians believed that each place was inhabited by a great number of spirits, and that the lesser ones were subject to the chief spirit; in some instances they formed his suite, his divine cycle; sometimes they were considered as his family; thus Amon of Thebes had the goddess Mut for his consort, and the god Chons for his son.



Sculptured Façade of the Temple of Edfu.

The religious conditions described above exist *mutatis mutandis* everywhere amongst nations in a low state of development; with the progress of Egyptian civilization they changed in many essential points. As the Egyptian peasants of the different nomes began to feel that they belonged to one nation, and as the intercourse increased between the individual parts of this long country, the old religion gradually lost its disconnected character. It was natural that families traveling from one nome to another should take the gods they had hitherto served to their new homes, and that, like every novelty, these divinities should win prestige with the inhabitants. It is conceivable that the god of a particularly great and mighty town should be believed to exercise a sort of patronage, either politically or agriculturally, over that part of the country dependent upon that center. When any god had attained this prominent position, and had become a *great god*, his worship would spread still farther. He had more opportunities than the other gods of giving help and working miracles; he therefore won more renown than they did. If the fame of a god spread through the whole country, and if pilgrims came from afar to his sanctuary, still greater results ensued. The worshipers of other less celebrated deities then discovered that their divinity was really the same as the more famous god. It was no obstacle that the names were utterly different; *e.g.*, in far distant ages the worship of Osiris, belonging originally to Abydos, spread over the whole of Egypt, and gods as distinct from him as Sokar of Memphis and the pillar of Dedu were identified with him.

The consequence was that with the progress of

Ka Statues of Memnon at the time of High Nile.

civilization the religion underwent a process of simplification. The small local gods shrank into the background by the side of their more fortunate colleagues, who tended more and more to merge into each other. Thus the cruel Sechmet and the gracious Bastet were almost considered as special forms and names of the more famous goddess Hathôr; and in later times we may also add of Mut of Thebes. At length Hathôr herself had to suffer identification with Isis. In the same way, as the reputation of the sun-god increased, other gods grew more like him. Few Egyptian gods escaped identification with Rê', not even the water god Sobk, in spite of his crocodile form.

The development of a common mythology advanced hand in hand with the process described above. At the period when each individual place revered its special divinity, the respective inhabitants had woven for their god a history of special actions and destinies which had little or no connection with the stories of the divinities worshiped in other localities. When, however, the local cults were fused into a national religion, the legends of the gods were united to form a mythology which, in its most important particulars, became the common property of the nation.

The evolution of Egyptian religion described above took place in prehistoric times. In the oldest records we possess, the so-called pyramid texts, the development was complete, and the religion had essentially the same character as in all after ages. We find a very considerable number of divinities of each rank, the greater with their sanctuaries in various towns, one being always acknowledged as pre-eminent; individual gods are sometimes expressly distinguished the one from the other, sometimes considered as identical; we find a mythology with myths which are absolutely irreconcilable existing peacefully side by side; in short, an unparalleled confusion. This chaos was never afterwards reduced to order; on the contrary, we might almost say that the confusion became even more hopeless during the 3,000 years that, according to the pyramid texts, the Egyptian religion "flourished"

From century to century progress was made, at any rate in one direction, viz., in the amalgamation of the divinities to one type. More especially the sun-god Rê' formed a central point for this kind of union; Amon of Thebes, Horus of the East, Horus of Edfu, Chnum of Elephantine, Atum of Heliopolis, and it may be many others, were considered under the New Empire as *one* god. This course would gradually lead to the abolition of polytheism, and in fact this tendency is very apparent. Thus, *e.g.*, in the phraseology of the hymn to the sun-god, the divine amalgam, composed of Amon, Rê', Harmachis, Atum, is called the "only god, in truth, the living one." At the same time, the existence of the various sanctuaries proves that these were but empty phrases; as long as Atum, Chnum, and Horus still possessed their individual sanctuaries and priesthood, the fusion of these gods could not be complete, notwithstand-

ing these beautiful words. Above all, the priests of those gods naturally withstood these anti-polytheistic theories of the New Empire, especially those who, being the richest, had most to lose by them—the priests of Amon. It is no accident that the only practical attempt that we know of in this direction turned, in the time of momentary triumph, with rage against Amon, as if it had experienced most resistance from that god. This attempt was undertaken by the son of Amenhôtep III., the last king of any importance of the eighteenth dynasty, and consisted in no less a change than the substitution of all the gods of past times by one single deity, the "great living sun-disk," or, according to his official title, "the sun ruling the two horizons, he who rejoices in the horizon in his name: splendor abiding in the sun-disk."

It is probable that this religious revolution was borne along by an undercurrent of support in the nation, or at least in the educated classes; finally, however, it was carried out by the zeal of a monarch. King Amenhôtep IV. (or as he was called after the reformation, Chuen'eten, splendor of the sun-disk) established the *doctrine*; this is evidently the official term for the new religion, for a number of years as the state religion. The above title, referring to the sun-disk, shows that from the first, the new faith was formulated dogmatically; nevertheless, we can only judge of this teaching by the hymns, in which adoration is paid to "the living sun-disk, besides whom there is no other." He created all things, "the far-off heavens, mankind, the animals, the birds; our eyes are strengthened by his beams, and when he shows himself all flowers grow and live; at his rising the pastures bring forth, they are intoxicated before his face, all the cattle skip on their feet, and the birds in the marshes flutter with joy." It is he "who brings in the years, creates the months, makes the days, reckons the hours; he is the lord of time, according to whom men reckon."

Yet, in spite of the fact that the new faith was founded on the old teaching, it stood really in absolute opposition to the latter. The fury with which the former persecuted the old gods, especially the Theban god, finds it parallel only in the history of fanaticism. The name and figure of Amon were erased everywhere, and to accomplish this act of vengeance against the god whom they detested, Chuen'eten's people even penetrated into the interior of the private tombs. The goddess Mut, the consort of Amon, fared no better. The king would no longer live in the town, which had been the residence of his ancestors, but built a new town in Middle Egypt to be the seat of government in place of the impure Thebes. He thought it necessary, also, to change his name of Amenhôtep, because the name Amon belonged to the old faith; he also decreed a change of orthography in order to remove a sign, to which there was the same objection. The word *maut* (mother) had hitherto been written . ; it was now changed to . , because, in the old fashion of spelling, the word signified also the name of the goddess Mut.

It is evident that a reformer who went so rashly to work as to try to set aside the whole history of a people with one stroke, could create nothing permanent. The results of the work of Chuen'eten were ruined after a few years, and in the reaction his buildings were razed to the ground. The old faith was re-established unchanged, and there was never any more question of the *doctrine* of the heretic.—*A. Erman, "Life in Ancient Egypt," pp. 259-63.*

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ASSETS.

U. S. Bonds ($4,323,000) and State, City, County and other Bonds ($103,850,803), cost of both, $103,384,604, market value	$108,173,803
Bonds and Mortgages (900 first liens)	41,082,422
Real Estate (74 pieces, including twelve office buildings	16,991,000
Deposits in Trust Companies and Banks, at interest	10,243,984
Loans to Policy-Holders on their policies as security (legal reserve thereon, $13,747,893)	7,900,096
Stocks of Banks, Trust Companies, etc. (4,047,817 cost value), market value Dec. 31, 1897	5,065,948
Loans on Stocks and Bonds (market value, $5,626,655)	4,507,367
Premiums in transit, reserve charged in Liabilities	2,164,297
Quarterly and Semi-Annual Premiums not yet due, reserve charged in Liabilities	1,889,474
Interest and Rents due and accrued	1,486,648
Premium Notes on Policies in force (reserve charged in Liabilities (2,700,000).	1,189,401
TOTAL	$200,694,440

LIABILITIES.

Policy Reserve (per attached certificate of New York Insurance Department)	$164,956,079
All other Liabilities: Policy Claims, Annuities, Endowments, etc., awaiting presentment for payment	2,366,330
Surplus Reserved Fund voluntarily set aside by the Company	16,195,926
Net Surplus (per attached certificate Insurance Superintendent) Dec. 31, 1897	17,176,105
TOTAL	$200,694,440

CASH INCOME, 1897.

New Premiums	$ 6,659,815	
Renewal Premiums	26,321,145	
TOTAL PREMIUMS		$32,980,960
Interest, Rents, etc		8,812,124
TOTAL		$41,793,084

EXPENDITURES, 1897.

Paid for Losses. Endowments and Annuities	$14,052,908
Paid for Dividends and Surrender Values,	5,356,541
Commissions ($3,239,964) on New Business of $135,555,794 Medical Examiners' Fees, and Inspection of Risks ($391,135)	3,631,099
Home and Branch Office Expenses, Taxes, Advertising, Equipment Account, Telegraph, Postage, Commissions on $741,465,131 of Old Business, and Miscellaneous Expenditures	4,770,391
Balance—Excess of Income over Expenditures for year	13,982,145
TOTAL	$41,793,084

INSURANCE ACCOUNT.

ON THE BASIS OF PAID-FOR BUSINESS ONLY.

	No. of Policies.	Amount.
In Force December 31, 1896	299,785	$826,816,648
New Insurance Paid for, 1897	62,708	135,555,794
Old Insurances Revived and Increased, 1897	699	2,007,825
TOTALS	364,192	$964,380,267
DEDUCT TERMINATIONS: By Death, Maturity, Surrender, Expiry, etc	31,234	$ 87,359,342
IN FORCE DEC. 31, 1897	332,958	$877,020,925
Gain in 1897	33,173	$ 50,204,277
New Applications Declined in '97	9,310	25,020,936

COMPARISON FOR SIX YEARS.

(1891–1897.)

	Dec. 31, '91.	Dec. 31, '97.	Gain 6 yrs
Assets	$125,947,290	$200,694,440	$ 74,747,150
Income	31,854,194	41,793,084	9,938,890
Dividends of Yr. to Policy Holders	1,260,340	2,434,981	1,174,641
Number of Policy Holders	182,803	332,958	150,155
Ins. in force (premiums paid)	$575,689,649	$877,020,925	$301,331,276

CERTIFICATE OF SUPERINTENDENT OF STATE OF NEW YORK INSURANCE DEPARTMENT.

[ALBANY, January 6, 1898.]

I, LOUIS F. PAYN, Superintendent of Insurance of the State of New York, do hereby certify that the NEW YORK LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY, of the City of New York, in the State of New York, is duly authorized to transact the business of Life Insurance in this State.

I FURTHER CERTIFY that, in accordance with the provisions of Section Eighty-four of the Insurance Law of the State of New York, I have caused the policy obligations of the said Company outstanding on the 31st day of December, 1897, to be valued as per the combined Experience Table of Mortality, at 4 per cent. interest, and I certify the same to be $164,956,079.

I FURTHER CERTIFY that the admitted assets are **$200,694,440.89**

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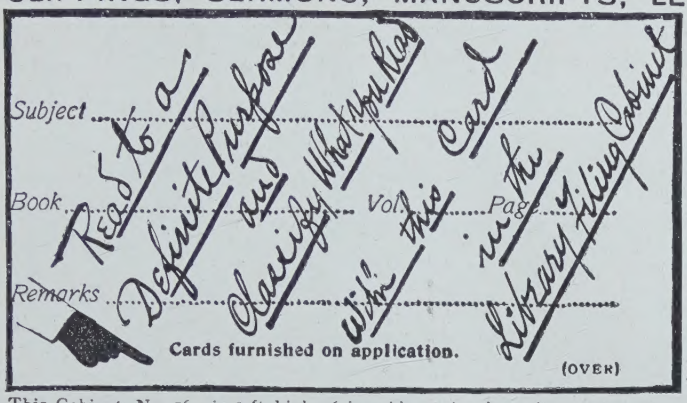

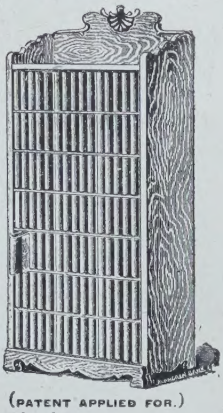

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